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CRIPPLING THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The attitude of the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives on the question of appropriations is one of an alarming character. It illustrates very forcibly the evil and unpatriotic policy of that organization, and must more than ever convince thoughtful and prudent citizens of the great danger to which the country would be subjected by the transfer of the General Government to its hands. Cries of "extravagance" and of "corruption" are the ready slogans of demagogues, while the reckless cutting down of expenditures seems an easy evasion of responsibility, a facile way of reaping undeserved credit, and, when examined, a striking proof of an utter want of statesmanship. Those who undertake it exhibit as plentiful a lack of sagacity as they do a superabundance of impudence. The campaign of slander and libel, which for the last five years has been an especial feature of the Opposition, has, like other vaulting ambitions, "o'erleapt itself," and now flounders in the cloaca on the other side, from whence it has expected to gain abundant materials for that throwing of filth wherein it revels.

TOTAL REDUCTION PROPOSED.

The civil service, or purely administrative work of the General Government, is that portion whose efficiency is now most seriously threatened. The Democratic majority of the House Committee on Appropriations have reported the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, covering the fiscal year 1876-7. The character of the bill may be seen from the following summary of totals:

Appropriated, 1875-6.....	\$18,734,422 20
Estimated, 1876-7.....	20,773,306 70
Appropriations recommended for 1876-7.....	12,799,883 61
Difference between current appropriations and those reported.....	5,934,538 59
Between recommendations and estimates.....	7,973,423 09

The object of such wholesale reduction, in but one of the appropriation bills, is at once apparent. It is to give force to the long-reiterated accusation of reckless extravagance in the Administration and by the party sustaining it, and at the same time convince the unreflecting and penurious classes that it is no longer safe or wise to trust the Government in the hands that have so long defended its existence and directed its affairs. Had it not been so recklessly attempted the policy might have succeeded. As it is, the Democratic engineers are "hoist with their own petard." They have succeeded only in demonstrating that they stand before an awkward dilemma. On one horn they will be impaled to a demonstration, as it will not be a difficult task to prove conclusively that the proposed wholesale reductions are designed only for possible political effect on Northern elections, (Southern ones are to be coerced in the most approved ex-Confederate-White-League style,) and are therefore made to show a huge sum less in the present bulk of expenditures, without much or any regard to the effect it may have on the efficiency of the public service or the possible aggregate of the deficiency bills which must be considered—after the elections. This horn of their dilemma is being sharpened by Randall, Holman & Co. Already its pricking makes some of their supporters uneasy. In a few instances and items modifications have been introduced, to secure their united support, otherwise doubtful.

DEMAGOGERY OR TREASON.

The other horn presents an even more serious and threatening aspect. It recalls Wendell Phillips' epigrammatic warning with regard to the sectional South and its

history—that to forget is a crime. In 1860-'61 a long threatened rebellion in the interests of slavery and the destructive political sophistries by which it was promoted culminated in the commencement of a four years' civil war. Actual hostilities were preceded by the scattering and dismantling of the Federal Navy; the disruption of the Army; the seizure of military posts, forts, arsenals, navy-yards, mints, custom-houses, and post offices; the robbery of public funds; the coercion of Indian tribes, and a vigorous attempt to disorganize the General Government so as to make it ineffective for resistance. The policy then pursued was designed to sunder the Union, destroy the Nation, and to create a new and slaveholding Confederacy. Two things were aimed at: *To cripple and destroy in advance the means of effective resistance and to obtain possession of all Governmental machinery existing within the territory designed for separation and independence.*

That purpose was, after a Titanic struggle, utterly defeated. Fifteen years after its inauguration, the same section, party, and men are back in Congress, aiming apparently at a rehabilitation of their former unsuccessful struggle under another form and by new direction. Slavery has been destroyed. Secession has apparently been surrendered. But the philosophy of disintegration survives in a more dangerous shape. The doctrine of State sovereignty is now advanced as a just vindication of the slaveholders' rebellion, and as the most effective method of winning (by its enthronement as a successful party dogma) *within the Union what could not be achieved out of it.* To tear to pieces it was necessary to destroy the means of coercion and resistance. To conquer what could not be pulled down it may be necessary to *so cripple the internal administration as to prevent the efficient direction of the public service, thereby disgusting the people and greatly weakening respect for the Federal Government.* The first aim was to destroy its material resources; the latter one seems to look to the crippling of its moral power, and thereby bringing it into contempt.

The Democratic party in and out of Congress may take whatever horn of this dilemma it pleases. Either will impale it so deeply

that ere long it will be only a gibbering spectacle of demagogish incompetency and sectional malignancy, or of both together. Perhaps these characteristics cannot be made more plain than by a practical application of the facts. The statements embodied herein may be relied upon as exhibiting in moderate form the effects of the reductions proposed in the important departments referred to. They are the result of careful inquiry, and the conclusions reached can be easily verified.

A SIGNIFICANT STATEMENT.

The extent of the reductions so recklessly made is exhibited in the following table, showing as it does the ratio allowed by the appropriation bill on the estimates as presented by the several Departments and Bureaus thereof:

Per cent. allowed on estimates.

- 0 Indian Office, (abolished.)
- 1½ Court of Claims; contingent expenses, etc.
- 33 Bureau of Education.
- 40 Contingent expenses of Senate.
- 45 Mints and Assay offices.
- 50 Department of State.
- 54 Capitol police.
- 58 Treasury Department.
- 59 Contingent expenses of House of Representatives
- 59 Territorial Governments.
- 63 Pension Office and contingent expenses.
- 64 Secretary Interior; contingent expenses
- Patent Office Building.
- 67 War Department and contingent expenses.
- 68 Clerks and employees of Senate.
- 68 Executive.
- 69 Library of Congress and Botanical Garden.
- 69 Navy Department and contingent expenses.
- 69 Expenses of collecting internal revenue.
- 72 Department of Agriculture and contingent expenses.
- 73 Post Office Department and contingent expenses.
- 77 Congressional Printing Office.
- 78 Department of Justice and contingent expenses.
- 81 General Land Office clerks and contingent expenses.
- 83 Patent Office and contingent expenses.
- 84 Surveyors General and clerks.
- 86 Clerks and employees of House of Representatives.
- 88 Pay and mileage of members of House of Representatives.
- 89 Pay and mileage of Senators.
- 90 Reporters of Debates and Proceedings of Congress.
- 99 U. S. courts; attorneys and marshals.
- 100 Compiling of Congressional Directory.

The result of this wholesale and indiscriminate reduction of the appropriations may in part be estimated by the following statement of its effect on the principal bureaus of the Treasury Department proper :

EFFECT OF THE REDUCTION ON THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT PROPER.

Offices.	Clerks.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Remarks.
First Comptroller's—					
1876.....	47	....	\$75,800		The current work of the office cannot be kept up with the force contemplated by the bill now before Congress.
1877.....	37	....	55,480		
Reduction.....	10	21	20,320	27	
Second Comptroller's—					
1876.....	72	....	110,600		It will be impossible to carry on the current work in this office if the proposed reduction is made.
1877.....	46	....	65,780		
Reduction.....	26	36	44,820	40	
First Auditor's—					
1876.....	49	....	77,380		It will be practically impossible to keep up the work of this office with the force reduced as shown on this schedule, and <i>three</i> additional to the present force are deemed necessary.
1877.....	34	....	50,910		
Reduction.....	15	30	26,470	34	
Second Auditor's—					
1876.....	174	....	245,280		This office has a large number of unsettled accounts, bounty cases, &c., on hand. The present force is inadequate to that rapid disposal of them which should characterize the public service. With the proposed reduction the Bureau will practically be disorganized.
1877.....	106	....	142,500		
Reduction.....	68	40	102,780	42	
Third Auditor's—					
1876.....	171	....	237,000		With the present force 20,305 accounts behind, involving over \$40,000,000, and many other accounts of which the amounts are not stated.
1877.....	108	....	141,100		
Reduction.....	63	37	95,900	40	
Fourth Auditor's—					
1876.....	54	....	81,000		Already reduced so low that it is difficult to perform the current business of the office. A further reduction will be positively injurious to the public good.
1877.....	40	....	56,130		
Reduction.....	14	26	24,870	31	
Fifth Auditor's—					
1876.....	33	....	50,680		The reduction of force proposed will delay the adjustment of accounts, or prevent the careful consideration of them which the public interests require. In either case the public business must suffer.
1877.....	24	....	34,760		
Reduction.....	9	27	15,920	31	
Sixth Auditor's—					
1876.....	233	....	313,320		The reduction proposed will delay the settlement of the accounts of the Post Office Department. The work of this Bureau will be increased largely during the next fiscal year.
1877.....	216	....	271,050		
Reduction.....	17	7½	42,270	13½	
Commissioner of Customs—					
1876.....	30	....	49,760		Cannot keep up the work with less than the present force.
1877.....	19	....	30,760		
Reduction.....	11	37	19,000	40	
Register's—					
1876.....	207	....	246,160		The proposed reduction is made without discrimination, and shows ignorance of the work to be performed. One large division will be brought to a complete standstill. All will be crippled. The experienced officers cannot be retained. The work must fall behind very largely.
1877.....	143	....	157,970		
Reduction.....	64	31	88,190	36	
Internal Revenue—					
Reduction.....		20			Could not suffer the reduction without great detriment to the public good.
Treasurer's—					
Reduction.....	113	28	131,000	30	This Bureau cannot perform its important duties with the proposed force. There is barely enough at present employed.
Comptroller of Currency's—					
1876.....	125	....	161,620		The National Banks will be embarrassed by the reduction, and the business of the country must suffer. As the expenses of this Bureau are paid by the banks, this is a double hardship.
1877.....	85	....	102,810		
	40	30¼	58,810	30¾	

The foregoing, it will be observed, does not include several important bureaus, as that of the Supervising Architect, the Revenue Marine, Hospital and Life Saving Service, the Bureau of Statistics, and the Light-House Board. The efficiency of these are all threatened, that of the Architect's office being almost destroyed. The Secretary's office itself will be, as Secretary Bristow points out, seriously affected.

EFFECT ON THE SERVICE.

It will be observed, that the largest reductions proposed in the Treasury bureaus are to be found in the Second Auditor's—forty per cent. in clerical force, and forty-two per cent. in money; the Third Auditor's, thirty-seven and forty per cent., and in the Fifth Auditor's, twenty-seven and thirty-one, a reduction that practically destroys this bureau. The Register's, also, thirty-one and thirty-six; the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Currency about thirty per cent. on both; and in the Second Comptroller's, where it is thirty-six per cent. in force and forty in money. These bureaus are concerned in the settlement of accounts, and in the handling and issuing of the public securities and currency. The Second Comptroller and the Second and Third Auditors have the settlement of the vast body of army accounts, quartermasters, paymasters, claims, etc., as well as of pay and bounties. The Fifth Auditor is charged with the adjustment of all internal revenue, diplomatic, and consular accounts. If the first named are not examined every quarter, so as to be adjusted at the end of each year, the door is left wide open for defalcation and dishonesty. The proposed reduction practically destroys this bureau, as by it every clerk will be required to do six times as much work per day as was the case in 1861. It would seem as if there was a special purpose in crippling these bureaus. It is well known that considerable dissatisfaction exists because of the delays experienced in the settlement of such accounts as those indicated. This affects a larger class than the claimants number. The same purpose crops out in the attack on the Pension Bureau, and in its proposed transfer to the War Department. It is harsh but not unjust to declare that

the object would appear to be to bring about a wide-spread sense of injustice on the part of the Government among a numerous body of citizens, who rightly deem themselves entitled to consideration at the hands of the Nation they so valiantly defended.

The disorganization or impairing of the bureaus charged with the collection of the revenue, as well as those that are intrusted with the handling and issuing of the public moneys, is even a more fatal policy. Already the Customs Bureau finds itself too weak-handed to meet the increased requirements of the service. The Centennial Exposition has made a great draft on its resources. This will increase, not diminish.

It is a fruitful opportunity for smuggling, to which the Democracy propose to add a premium by decreasing the force that can be employed. The internal revenue service is also to be impaired. But there is a Democratic excuse for this. By decreasing the officials, illicit distillers in the South will be secure. The Democratic vote will be increased thereby. Recently the French Minister notified our Government that the exhibitors from that country would feel compelled to withdraw their goods unless something was done to facilitate their reception. So petty and small is the spirit exhibited that this great Government is compelled to accept the charitable interposition of its citizens in order to keep its principal post office buildings lighted. Only by such disgrace has the Democratic majority been roused to a sense of duty. All that portion of the Treasury work, which, like the Supervising Architect's office, has to do with the employment of labor is systematically crippled, and that, too, at a period when the general depression of industry makes the smallest addition to the ranks of the great army of the unemployed a grievous burden. Now turn from the Treasury to

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

With the very important interests and duties committed to its charge, what will be seen? The following statement of the condition and necessities of the work in this Department illustrates the effect of the proposed reductions therein:

Offices.	Clerks.	Per cent.	Amount.	Per cent.	Remarks.
Secretary's—					
1876.....	42	....	\$69,780		The work of this office requires an increase rather than a decrease of force.
1877.....	37	....	58,530		
Reduction.....	5	12	11,250	16	
Land—					
1876.....	201	....	264,960		With the proposed reduction great injury will be done to settlers and others dependent upon the prompt action of the General Land Office.
1877.....	167	....	211,380		
Reduction.....	34	17	53,580	20	
Pension—					
1876.....	365	....	490,780		This office is greatly behind in its work. To reduce the force, as proposed, will work great injury to the pensioners of the country.
1877.....	269	....	338,920		
Reduction.....	96	26	151,860	31	
Patent—					
1876.....	332	....	436,400		This office returns a revenue in excess of its expenditures. To cripple it by a reduction is to cut down its revenues.
1877.....	291	....	370,220		
Reduction.....	41	12	66,180	15	
Education—					
1876.....	13	....	18,360		The proposed reduction of clerical force will prove injurious. But the reduction of the contingent expenses from \$21,300 called for to \$1,210 will be ruinous. It will prevent the collection of statistics and stop work that is necessary to be done.
1877.....	11	....	14,800		
Reduction.....	2	15	3,470	19	
Indian Office abolished.					

IMPEDING THE RETURN OF PROSPERITY.

The effect of the proposed reductions in this Department cannot but be very injurious. Take the General Land Office as an example. Year by year it is more heavily taxed, until the present force is worked to its utmost capacity to keep abreast of current business. The revival of prosperity, though slow in its advance, is sure to come. Along the whole western line the pioneer columns are advancing. The railroads send out their iron lines like tentacles to clasp and encompass the wilderness. The activity of the Land, like that of the Patent Office, is a proof of prosperity and progress. Statesmanship would recognize this, and provide for it accordingly. Demagogism only sees an opportunity of reducing salaries already poor, and of making a lesser appropriation than usual, utterly indifferent as to the injury that may be inflicted on general business, or the injustice done to individuals.

The Patent Office presents another illustration. Like our consular service, this office more than pays for itself. It would certainly seem as if a wise liberality should govern the appropriations made for its administration. In the present case, however,

the force is reduced below the ordinary demands of the work, and not the slightest heed is paid to the strong probability that the Centennial Exposition with its crowds of foreign visitors is likely to greatly increase the business. Very many inventors from other countries will doubtless apply for patents, hoping thus to protect what they exhibit, as well as hereafter make profit from sales among us. The Pension Bureau has been recently attacked, especially on the ground that its work drags behind so largely. The force is too small, therefore reduce it. This is the logic of Democratic reform. But, then, applicants will be dissatisfied, and votes against the party in power may thereby be made.

THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

Take the important duties that are committed to Secretary Fish and the Department under his control. By the bill under consideration, its clerical force is greatly crippled, and the departmental work will be thereby delayed to an injurious degree. The staff of this Department must necessarily be one selected with great care. There are among its clerks many men, not only skilled in their delicate duties, but with special cul-

ture and accomplishments, which render them almost invaluable. A number of them are linguists of no mean order. Others are encyclopedias in their compendious knowledge of public and diplomatic affairs. It is such men as these—of whom the State Department by no means enjoys a monopoly in so far as the civil service is concerned—that the Democratic economists are depriving of a decent reward for a high order of service, well and faithfully performed. The demagogues in Congress, who are playing so large a game on such small cards, exhibit their inherent meanness most effectually when they reduce the already indifferent pay of Government clerks, but take especial pains not to put their own salaries on the same low level.

AN ATTACK ON LABOR.

No grosser or meaner attack on labor and its honest reward has been made of late years. The Republican party, in Congress or out of it, has never resisted any honest effort to reduce the expenses of the Government, and thus lighten the burdens of the tax-payers. But it has never done so at the cost of honest toil, or of the efficiency of the public service. Both are involved in the pending policy of the accidental majority of the House of Representatives. The facts already given, and others to follow, show how the latter will be brought about. As to the reduction of salaries, look for a moment at the gross injustice sought to be perpetrated. Take our consular service as an example. Whatever may be its shortcomings, the statement cannot be disputed that in the character of consuls and the honest administration of their duties that service is at least seventy-five per cent. in advance of what it was under Democratic rule. The consular service pays for itself, and leaves a surplus annually of about \$100,000. Since 1860 the price of living has everywhere advanced. All social economists take note of the fact that the increase of rapid intercommunication has largely increased and equalized the price of labor and the cost of living the civilized world all over. The rise of incomes—taking the grade to which consuls, &c., would properly belong—has not been in a proportionate ratio to the

cost of living. The English Government has collected and published in a Parliamentary Blue Book a large number of facts, which show that this increased cost of living at all their principal consular posts has within the past fifteen years been equal to at least forty per cent. During that period there has been several readjustments of our consular salaries, but no general or adequate increase has ever been made. On the other hand, there is much less opportunity than formerly to increase such incomes by doubtful means. Under the much abused Republican policy of special inspectors the affairs of the consulates have been investigated, and very many leaks stopped. Yet in face of these facts the Democratic House, under the leadership of a springing demagogue from the Illinois prairies, has slashed right and left, cutting down the salaries indiscriminately, and abolishing offices of real value to the commercial interests they are designed to foster.

INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

This illustration fits well with the reductions attempted in Department salaries. These latter were last scheduled in 1853. In a small number of appointments created and made since that date other rates may have been fixed, but as a rule the salaries then arranged are those that rule to-day. The cost of living has increased an average of sixty per cent.; while the increase in wages in other occupations has ranged from fifty to one hundred per cent. The large majority of the men and women employed in the Departments at Washington are persons of education, social culture, and trained intelligence. Very many of them possess a high grade of ability and attainments. All of them who by any means will be able to get away from conditions such as the demagogues propose to impose will undoubtedly do so. The most competent will be the first to retire of their own volition. The service will lose in efficiency thereby. But what does this matter to the politicians of the Randall-Holman school? They want a party cry, and think they have got one, forgetting, however, that the war and what has followed has educated a vast number of persons to a larger comprehension of the needs and demands of the Government than was

formerly the case. The American people are not mean. They do not propose to defraud the men and women who are hired to do their work, nor do they believe it to be the business of Government to cut down salaries and cheapen labor. Its business is to administer the trust imposed, and pay a fair price for all the services required.

IMPAIRING THE POSTAL SERVICE.

In further proof of the reckless policy pursued it may be stated that a very large proportion of the reductions proposed, in force or salaries, are made on insufficient evidence of their utility. The salary reduction, it is asserted, was to be made on a dead level rule of ten per cent.; that of force on a similar one of twenty per cent. The rule has not even been systematically applied, favorite officials being partially exempted, while others are made to bear more than their share. In the Treasury the working force is reduced twenty-three per cent., and the appropriation more largely. In the Interior the reduction of force is twenty and one-half per cent.; that of salaries, etc., equals twenty-three per cent. The mere statement of such a hard and fast rule ought to be sufficient, however, to show its unwisdom, because, if for no other reason, it makes no account of the duties performed by the official, and requires no examination into the needs of and demands on the office itself. The proposed reduction of the Post Office Department appropriation is in pertinent proof.

Like the General Land and the Patent Offices the postal service is, only in a larger degree, a proof of the growth and progress of the whole country. Its duties expand as that expands. Its usefulness must be commensurate with the growth of business and settlement. To reduce its resources and cripple its capacity is to hinder the rapid interchange of all business and social life, and will especially hamper the growth of the more struggling communities. The section which will suffer the most is the one most hostile to the policy of enlightenment and equity, which is the distinguishing mark of Republicanism. But the Post Office Department can cut its suit according to the cloth that is given. Its disbursements can be kept within its appropriations.

But that must result in a great lessening of postal facilities, if the amount is not to

exceed what is now proposed. At the present time, with 36,000 post offices, over 10,000 mail routes, the disbursement of \$35,000,000 and the receiving of \$27,000,000, the force of this Department is barely sufficient to perform its required duties. Good policy would require an increase. Especially is this so when the expected influx of foreign visitors and the certain movement of so large a portion of our own population as will attend the Centennial render it certain that there will be a greatly increased demand on the mail service. The annual increase in population, settlement, and business demands a proportionate increase in postal facilities. The electioneering necessities of a party out of power, but having a temporary "coign of vantage," require, or seem to, an ignoring of all these facts, in order to make a showing of economy on the stump and in the party press. The Postmaster General will be required to meet the issue presented by reducing the number of post offices and routes, cutting off four or five thousand of the smaller offices, and discontinuing at least a thousand routes. These will inevitably be, as to a majority of cases, within the Southern and Southwestern States and the Western Territories. The railroad postal force must be largely reduced, thus seriously crippling the mail service between and in the larger cities. If the policy now proposed is carried out as to the transportation of the mails, it must of necessity be followed by a reduction of the number carried. Cities now receiving two general mails per day will have to be content with one; daily mails will become tri-weeklies; the semi-weekly will be transferred to a weekly, while in all other branches the same necessity will prevail. The fact thus presented is already alarming members; but the danger is no greater, though it may be more in volume, than it is as to other branches of the public service treated to the same indiscriminating style of phlebotomy. The Democratic Dr. Sangrados tried another kind of blood-letting from 1861 to 1865. They haven't got quite over it "down South;" but this, and later, mode of reducing the system will prove as ineffectual for the destruction of the Union as was the former sanguinary process.

A SOUTHERN FLY IN DEMOCRATIC AMBER.

The indiscriminate reduction of force, salaries, and necessary contingent expenses is continued through all the Departments, with the exception, perhaps, of that of War. And this exception is another proof of the subserviency to the demands of the Confederate South which is so marked a characteristic of the Democratic party. Texas is at present one of the strongholds of Democracy. It has been made so by the concentration there of the ex-Confederate army by means of immigration from other Southern States, by a large increase of ruffianism and the usual processes of Democratic intimidation, and through the wholesale disfranchisement of colored voters by means of "Judicial Ku-Kluxism." Texas has, in addition, a chronic source of disorder—that of the Rio Grande Mexican cattle forays. To check, and finally, it is hoped, prevent them, it is necessary for the United States to maintain a large military force on that frontier. Besides, the Confederate Democratic leaders are looking for prospective gains to the area of their Southern empire, to the final establishment of which they have never ceased to look forward. The army on the Rio Grande, under their control, could easily be made the vanguard of a new war of conquest. Texas Democrats have, therefore, demanded that the War Department shall not be crippled, and the Sangrados of the Appropriation Committee bow in humility to their vermillion edict.

GOOD NEWS FOR SMUGGLERS AND ILLICIT DISTILLERS.

In all other directions the bleeding and depleting process is vehemently urged. The efficiency of the Department of Justice will be seriously impaired, and especially will this be the case in those regions of the South and Southwest in which, by lax administration, the Democracy will be most largely benefitted. It will not be possible either to push, as actively as should be the case, such prosecutions as those against the whisky ring, or to press and pursue to settlement and conviction defaulting officials or defrauding citizens. The appropriation proposed for the use of the Attorney General is simply a mockery. It will hardly keep up the Department records.

AN ATTACK ON THE GRANGERS.

The important Department of Agriculture, concerned as it is with great interests wholly non-partisan and non-political in character, is, under the pending bill, almost deprived of usefulness. This again, in a marked manner, exhibits the want both of genuine statesmanship and of political sagacity on the part of the Democratic managers. Agriculture, as a great producing interest, was never so knit together as at the present time. The Grange permeates with its homogeneous influence every county in the Union, and binds to its policy a vast body of farmers and planters who are not yet within its folds. The statesman would see (Republicans have already done so) in the growth of such movements striking evidence of the manner in which the producing and laboring interests were coming forward to contest with those of commerce and exchange a normal share in legislation and government; and, so seeing, would endeavor to direct and control the same through legitimate channels. The Department of Agriculture has, in our system, become one of the most useful of these channels. The influence of the National Government is beneficially exercised to the advancement and encouragement of a primary force in production, industry, and wealth-making. It is so exercised, and has always been, without regard to party demands or policies, and without in any way interfering with individual interests or activities. The Democrats who represent agricultural districts know the interest manifested by their constituents in the experiments, publications, etc., of this Department quite as well as do their Republican associates on the floor of the House of Representatives.

The attempt to cripple the Department of Agriculture is, like the reductions in the General Land and Patent Offices, the proposed stoppage of all public works, river and harbor improvements, buildings, etc., as well as the inequitable general reduction of salaries, to be regarded only as a deliberate attack on the producing and laboring interests of the country. If this is denied, as it will be, the other horn of the dilemma is seen in the fact that such reductions, made without shrewdness or comprehensiveness,

only show the incapacity of the Democratic leaders to do anything more than destroy, tear down, and pull to pieces.

DEMOCRATIC INCAPACITY—ITS PROOF.

The fact is plain that, even acquitting the Democracy as now represented in the House majority of all willful intention to impair the efficiency of the Government and the administration thereof, the pending appropriation bills only prove more conclusively than ever their incapacity to administer the Government or to wisely shape the legislation of the country. If their present actions are not interfused with treasonable malignancy, as in 1861, or animated only by the demagogue's aspirations for a taking election cry, then they must meet a pertinent criticism of which their daily acts are in proof of its truth, and that is, that they have been so long out of power as to be utterly incapable of understanding the enlarged necessities of the nation, or the demands which these are constantly making upon the Government of the country.

THE POLITICAL CRABS.

The truth is that the United States have grown out of the provincial swaddling clothes which the old-time governing Democracy so long imposed. The hands on the dial of Time cannot be turned back. The swaddling clothes are not to be made the cerements of the Nation. The Republic is a lusty and quite well matured giant now-a-days, and the Democratic liliputians who once were large enough to manage it almost to destruction, will find the bonds and withes then used are but as flaxen threads on the thews and sinews of to-day.

Since 1861 America has grown. A new public opinion controls. The civilization of the old Free States, with its vast complexities of industry, wealth, social order, education, and moral growth, is the civilization of the whole land. Its limitations as well as strength are all there. Retrospection is weakness. The Democracy travels backward like the crab. Its one eye is always turned over the shoulder of Time looking to a past, which, thank God! will never come again. It represents the politics and polity of sectionalism. Its criticism is malignant, because its history has been that of destruc-

tion. Slavery has dwarfed all moral sense, and the philosophy of disintegration has cramped capacity. Hence when it obtains, as in the present case, a temporary foothold, it cannot utilize the same for future advantage. Political opponents are treated as thieves and scoundrels; there is no sense of personal honor or public comity, as between men of differing opinions, and in pretending to provide for the wants of the Government, as should be the purpose of the regular appropriation bills, the Democrats succeed only in crippling its working capacity, undermining the public service, and by pretended efforts at economy which bear most unjustly on the poorest paid employes and officers, prepare the way for large deficiency bills and render more costly the necessary efforts which the future must bring in order to restore that state of efficiency without which the public work cannot be performed.

OUR DIPLOMATIC service must be overpaid, for it is well known that one of our foreign officials, after a service abroad of seven years, had sufficient funds left, after buying his ticket home, to buy a bottle of anti-sea-sickness cordial and a second-hand cork life-preserver. This remarkable incident, however, is offset by the fact that "one more unfortunate" is at this date "in pawn" at his post, unable to return home until some of his friends send him funds, which they are now engaged in collecting. But then the present force is composed mainly of Republicans, and, unlike the former Democratic incumbents of consular positions, have serious objections, as a rule, to making traffic of the flag, seal, and prestige belonging and supposed to accrue to their offices. Such as have been accused of so trafficking have generally been Democrats, who have nobly played the parts of "camp followers" on the party of success.

BORING a ship's bottom in mid-ocean to discover a rotten plank is wisdom compared to the Democratic policy of investigating everything, at enormous expense, while the workmen of the country are starving for want of needed legislation to set them to work.

THE CIVIL SERVICE FORCE IN THE EMPLOY OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

A fruitful source of party buncombe is found in the number and character of the persons employed by the United States to carry on the work of administration. It is a theme even more cherished by the political impotents who control the so-called "liberal" press, composed as it is of journals far more distinguished for illiberality of judgment than for any other marked quality. A foreigner who should make the diatribes of a half dozen prominent newspapers that might be named his sole source of study as to our character and institutions would undoubtedly have a good right to believe us the most corrupt people under the sun. The critics who leave that impression know better, but then they delight in befouling their own nest. There is a certain market for their wares, ill-smelling as they are—a market which has been created by their constant efforts, and which it is to be feared grows by what it feeds upon. On the whole, the journalistic critics referred to are worse than the partisan assailants. The one attacks the well-being of the country; the other only intends to assail the acts of the party and Administration which happens to be in power. The country would be all right provided only that they run it. The critics, however, would continue their assaults, seeking apparently to undermine popular faith in republican institutions, or aiming to place themselves and their profession in the position which Prince Bismarck recently declared in the Prussian Parliament the press was seeking to assume—that of the modern inquisition.

The alleged extravagance, corruption, and undue enlargement of the civil service, so-called, is then, as has been said, a fruitful source of criticism. Some recent misrepresentations as to the number of the persons employed by the General Government demand correction, and so affords an occasion to confound the unjust accusers. The Hon. M. J. Durham, of Kentucky, speaking on Thursday, March 23d, on the pending general civil service appropriation bill, made, among other statements, the following:

"The country can justly complain that for years the number of employes and officers of the Government has been greatly increased, and no doubt far beyond the requirements and necessities of the public service. I find on examination that the number of employes borne upon the civil list of the United States for the years indicated is shown as compiled from the Biennial Register, and is, to wit: 1859, 44,527; 1861, 46,049; 1863, 47,375; 1865, 53,067; 1867, 56,113; 1869, 54,207; 1871, 57,605; 1873, 86,660; 1875, 102,106. A very considerable number of the above who are borne upon the pay-rolls can, without doubt, be dismissed from the service, and there would be still enough left to carry on the Government in its various branches with promptness and dispatch. One of the consequences arising from this large biennial increase of office-holders, and it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to, is to increase the annual expenses of the Government until they have become enormous and very burdensome to the people."

If the statement above embalmed (not in amber, though, by any means) were correct, it would be a just cause of alarm and reproach. There is no truth in it, however, as will presently be shown. Mr. Durham may probably be acquitted of intentional misrepresentation. He has only blundered in his eagerness to make a point. If his figures are as incorrect for all as they are for 1875 their untrustworthiness is simply ludicrous.

The Biennial Register, or "Blue Book," as it is commonly called, is made up to the 30th of September, in the year of its publication. The law under which its compilation is ordered reads as follows:

SECTION 510. As soon as practicable after the last day of September in each year in which a new Congress is to assemble a register shall be compiled and printed under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, of which seven hundred and fifty copies shall be published, and which shall contain the following lists, made up to such last day of September:

1. Correct lists of the officers, clerks, employes, and agents, civil, military, and naval, in the service of the United States, including cadets and midshipmen, which lists shall exhibit the amount of compensation, pay, and emoluments allowed to each, the State or country in which he was born,

the State or Territory from which he was appointed to office, and where employed.

2. A list of the names, force, and condition of all the ships and vessels belonging to the United States, and when and where built.

3. Lists of all printers of the laws of the United States, and of all printers employed by Congress or by any Department or officer of the Government during the two years preceding the last day of September up to which such list is required to be made, with the compensation allowed to each, and designating the Department or officer causing the printing to be executed.

4. A statement of all allowances made by the Postmaster General, within the same period of two years, to each contractor on contracts for carrying the mail, discriminating the sum paid as stipulated by the original contract and the sums paid as additional allowance.

Previous to 1873 the compilers of the Register did not deem it necessary to call for any of the names, etc., of the persons employed as mechanics and laborers, whose positions are not specifically designated in the several appropriation acts, and who are therefore employed under general authority to engage and pay for needed labor. Such classes include mechanics and laborers at the several navy-yards, a small portion of those employed on the public buildings, those at the Government printing office, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, on river and harbor improvements, and all works of a similar character. All told these will not exceed ten thousand. In the Registers of 1873 and 1875 an effort has been made to record the names of such employes. It has in part been successful, and hence the increase which has really occurred in the size of the Blue Book. It would seem, however, as if the compiler was mistaken and had given too latitudinarian an interpretation of the law, as quoted. The extent of these additions will hereafter be shown. In the meanwhile it will be well to ascertain what Mr. Durham charges. To read the passage quoted is to obtain the distinct impression that there has been a lavishly wasteful increase of force. Let us look at both the statement and the facts. Both are essential to an understanding of the disparity between them. The accompanying statement shows the figures according to Mr. Durham:

Blue Book for—	No. registered.	Increase	Increase over 1859.
1859.....	44,527	.....	.....
1861.....	46,049	1,522	2,548
1863.....	47,375	1,326	.....
1865.....	53,067	5,692	8,540
1867.....	56,113	3,046	11,586
1869.....	54,107	*	9,480
1871.....	57,605	3,298	13,078
1873.....	86,660	29,055	32,133
1875.....	102,106	15,446	57,579

*2,006 less than in 1867.

It will be observed that the increase is quite gradual up to 1871. The figures of 1865 and 1867 are due, as every one will see, to the increased postal and other service, rendered necessary by the restoration of Federal authority in the South, and the consequent rehabilitation of its functions therein. The marked decrease in 1869 over 1867 is due to changes made in the internal revenue and other branches, which rendered unnecessary a large number of paid office-holders. The practical dissolution of the Freedmen's Bureau service about 1868-'69 also decreased the total.

To those who are familiar with legislation since that date it will be a very difficult task to give a satisfactory explanation of the marvellous increase stated by Mr. Durham, as shown by the foregoing table, unless it be regarded as grossly erroneous. This is the true explanation. There has been a steady reduction of the officers, clerks, and other administrative agents of the Government since 1870 in all the branches thereof, except such as are immediately subject to the expansion superinduced by the country's normal growth and progress. The Post Office Department is in illustration of this position. The average increase shown from 1859 down to 1871 is almost wholly accounted for by the additional number of postmasters and other persons added each year. Since 1859, for instance, the number of postmasters has almost doubled. Of course this has increased the force of clerks, agents, carriers, messengers, and contractors to a proportionate degree.

Mr. Durham's misstatements are mischievous, and must be corrected. If the reader could have before him copies of the "Blue Book" for 1871 and 1875 it would be easy to perceive how he has blundered, allowing

for the idiocy which aims only at making a telling point as a sure preventive of necessary caution. In the volume first named the number of octavo pages is 913; in that for 1875 there are 1,211—an increase of 298 pages. On each page the number of names printed runs from 81 down to 26, the average being 65 names to a page. To have added 44,501 names to the Blue Book of 1875 over that of 1871 would have required an addition of about 675 pages, making the volume contain 1,589 pages, or 378 more than it actually does. But the increase that is stated must be accounted for—a very easy thing to do when the facts are known. It will be borne in mind that the compiler has added, in the last two Registers, a considerable number of names never heretofore embraced by the publication. According to the statement of that officer the total is not less than 12,000, which, at 65 names to a page, required an addition to the Register of 1875 of about 185 pages. The remaining pages are accounted for by a rearrangement of the matter and a subdividing of the different classes for a more convenient way of presentation. These additional 12,000 names, or so, are obtained in this way. There was an increase of about 2,400 post offices during the past two years, and, in addition thereto, the last Register gives the name of every incumbent for the two years following the preceding publication of a Blue Book. This fact accounts for at least 3,500 additional names. There is an addition to the postal service, consequent on this increase of offices, to the number of 292 persons, otherwise than postmasters. This makes on this branch alone a total increase of 6,192 names.

In addition, there are now embraced in the last Biennial Register the following persons employed by, or otherwise under Government authority, whose names were not embraced by the Register of 1871: Internal revenue gaugers and storekeepers, over 1800; employes at new mints; Commissioners of United States Centennial Exposition, 96; light-house engineers and inspectors; clerks, storekeepers, etc., Subsistence Department of the United States Army; employes (clerks, mechanics, laborers, &c.) Ordnance Department at large; United States Army; United States geological surveying force;

also registers in bankruptcy and Circuit Court commissioners—in all over 6,000 persons. It will be observed that a considerable number of these additions are of mechanics and laborers, paid by the day, a force whose pay and position are not indicated specifically by law, and who usually are hired in open market at the ruling rates of such labor in the vicinity of their work. It would seem as if such persons did not come within the terms of the law, and if they do, then there is a considerable force to be added to the official Register. But even that addition will leave Mr. Durham's figures largely in excess.

But there is another way to test Mr. Durham's inaccuracy as to the Register of 1875, as well as prove the correctness of the enumeration now presented. The total number of names found in the last Blue Book is 79,624. If 1,211 pages (the number it contains) be multiplied by 65, the total will be 78,715. If Mr. Durham's figures, 102,106, are taken, and he be allowed to estimate at the highest number of names entered on any one page of the Register—viz., 81—it will still be found that the 1,211 pages the volume for 1875 embraces will give only 97,891 names, or 4,215 less than the Kentuckian's total.

The foregoing statements alone show that Mr. Durham is guilty of inaccuracy. But a more careful examination will establish, beyond controversy, that he is willfully careless and indifferent to the truth. The Biennial Register contains the names of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of all officers of the Army and Navy, the vessels of war, besides executive and judicial officers, the Department and other clerical force, the custom and internal revenue agents, the postmasters, and a considerable body of names representing persons employed as mechanics and laborers. Yet all these names will not come within 23,000 of Mr. Durham's pretended exhibit of the total, by the Register for 1875. This will be shown presently by an actual count. In order to secure a fair estimate of the civil expenses of the National Government, under Republican administrations, which are being assailed by Democratic speakers like Mr.

Durham, it would be but fair to eliminate the officers of the Army and Navy from the muster-roll. The charge is that there is "a biennial increase of office-holders," and "it may be at larger salaries than they are entitled to." Let us see. The last Register will be sufficient for an examination. The following summaries can be regarded as accurate:

Total number of officials, clerical and other civil employes, in the pay of the General Government, and registered in the Biennial Register for 1875.

EXECUTIVE.	
Private secretary, assistant, and land warrant clerk.....	3
Other persons.....	4
Total Executive.....	7

CONGRESS.	
Officers and employes of the Senate, clerks, Capitol police, &c.....	175
Officers and employes of the House of Representatives.....	155
Government Printing Office, clerks, &c..	8
Total Congress.....	338

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.	
Secretary, assistant secretaries, clerks, &c., employed in the Department itself	92
Ministers.....	30
Secretaries of Legation.....	13
Consul-Generals.....	17
Consuls.....	234
Commercial agents.....	21
Interpreters, marshals, and dispatch agents.....	18
Consular clerks.....	12
Members of the Alabama Court of Claims and other international commissions..	13
Centennial commissioners.....	96
Total Department of State.....	546

THE TREASURY.	
Department proper—	
Secretary's office, (this includes representatives of all bureaus and separate offices).....	503
First Comptroller.....	43
Second Comptroller.....	72
First Auditor.....	49
Second Auditor.....	149
Third Auditor.....	171
Fourth Auditor.....	54
Fifth Auditor.....	33
Sixth Auditor.....	233
Commissioner of Customs.....	30
Commissioner of Internal Revenue.....	134
Register.....	207
Treasurer.....	532
Comptroller of Currency.....	125
Total Department proper.....	2,345
Agents of the Department—outside force:	
Special agents, (two employed in Washington).....	62
Customs—collectors, &c.....	4,407
Internal revenue—	
Collectors.....	211
Deputy collectors.....	879
Storekeepers.....	907
Gaugers.....	909
Assistant treasurers.....	195
Mints and assay offices.....	690
United States depositories.....	13
Coast Survey, (89 employed in Washington).....	146
Life-saving service.....	114

Marine hospitals.....	41
Revenue marine.....	194
Light-house keepers.....	860
Light-house engineers and inspectors.....	202
Steamboat inspectors.....	104

Total outside force.....	9,904
Add Department proper.....	2,345

Total Treasury.....12,258

DEPARTMENT OF WAR.	
Department proper—	
Secretary's office.....	77
Adjutant General.....	252
Quartermaster General.....	168
Paymaster General.....	71
Subsistence, Commissary General.....	30
Surgeon General.....	172
Chief of Engineers.....	21
Chief of Ordnance.....	24
Signal Service.....	18
Bureau of Military Justice.....	9
Medical statistics.....	2
Inspector General.....	2
Superintendents of cemeteries.....	70
Public Buildings and Grounds.....	65
Total Department proper.....	981

Outside force War Department:	
Quartermaster General.....	349
Paymaster General.....	52
Commissary General of Subsistence.....	204
Surgeon General.....	15
Acting Assistant Surgeons.....	163
Ordnance.....	1,100

Total outside force.....	1,876
Add Department proper.....	981

Total War Department.....2,857

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY.	
Department proper.....	89
Naval Observatory.....	19
Hydrographic Office.....	23
Almanac, (6 at Washington).....	12

Total Navy Department.....143

The following force are not embraced by the Blue Book:

Civil force, (clerical, &c.) at navy-yards, asylums, hospitals, academy, and torpedo and other stations.....	558
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DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.	
Department proper—	
Secretary's office.....	42
Land office.....	201
Pension office.....	395
Patent office.....	332
Indian affairs.....	57
Bureau of Education.....	13
Geological surveys.....	31
United States Capitol extension.....	4
National Museum.....	18
Inspectors gas and meters.....	2
Hospitals in District of Columbia.....	229
Total Department proper.....	1,294

Outside Department proper—
General Land Office:

Registers.....	98
Receivers.....	98
Surveyors General.....	17
Clerks, &c., to Surveyors General..	103

Indian Affairs:	
Superintendents and clerks.....	8
Indian agents.....	78
Employes.....	640
Territories—Governors and secretaries..	18
Pension agents.....	58

Total outside force.....	1,118
Add Department proper.....	1,294

Total Interior.....2,412

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

Department proper	53
District institutions—Police, jail, and reform school	301
Total Department proper	354

JUDICIARY.

United States Supreme Court judges, (9,) Court of Claims, (5,) District judges, (5,) Police judge, (1,) United States Circuit Courts, (3,) District Courts, (56,) Territorial Courts, (27,) total	112
Clerks to United States Courts	197
Reporter to Supreme Court	1
Marshals	86
District attorneys	84
Assistant attorneys	58
Registers in bankruptcy	253
United States Circuit Court commissioners	1,730
Total judiciary	2,521
Add Department proper	354
Total Department of Justice	2,875

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Department proper	91
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POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Department proper	384
Other officers and agents:	
Postmasters	35,547
Contractors	6,280
Post Office clerks	4,467
Railway Post Office clerks	901
Route agents	987
Mail route messengers	225
Local messengers	125
Special messengers	66

Total Post Office Department..... 48,892

Total registered force properly belonging to the civil service..... **67,757**

To this total may be added the following:

Congress—Senators, Representatives, and Delegates	374
Officers of the Army	2,929
Officers of the Navy and Marine Corps	1,955
Vessels of the Navy	149
Advertisers for the several Departments	380
Post Office contractors	6,280
	12,067

Total number of persons and names registered in the Blue Book for 1875..... **79,824**

Mr. Durham stated the total to be 102,106. He may be congratulated, as a Democrat, in getting within 23,930 of the truth. But then, using his own standard—that the Blue Book was the measure of the civil list—and it will be found that a still further deduction can be made. The total given—12,067—of names not to be counted as part of the “civil list,” in the sense Mr. Durham used that term, is properly to be subtracted from the whole number registered in the Biennial Blue Book. According, then, to this calculation, the total civil list will embrace but 67,757 names, or 34,349 less than the number given by Mr. Durham.

But that gentleman presented this formidable aggregate as a proof of extravagance; of the costliness of the present Administration. This is in reality the most important portion of his arraignment. The American people are not so much interested in the number of persons in the employ of the General Government as they are in the question of cost and that of the proper performance of the necessary duties. To that end it may be as well to still further take Mr. Durham's criticisms apart, and show how captious and ill-founded they are. For convenience sake, in this respect, the persons employed by the United States whose remuneration is not designated as salaries, or directly provided for out of the revenues collected, may be divided into the following groups:

I. Those paid by fees in whole or in part:

Officers.	Number.	Annual amounts limited by law.
Consuls or commercial agents	93	\$2,500*
Pension agents	58	4,000*
Postmasters	34,047	1,000*
Land Office registers and receivers	196	500†
District attorneys	84	200†
	34,478	

*Out of their fees office expenses are also paid.

†Besides the amount named, these officers receive a percentage on all moneys received by them.

II. Those paid entirely by fees:

Commissioners to United States courts ..	1,730
Internal revenue gaugers	909
Clerks to United States courts	197
Registers in bankruptcy	253
Marshals	86
	3,175

III. Those who contract and derive profit:

Mail contractors	6,280
Advertisers or publishers	380
	6,660

IV. Without pay:

Centennial commissioners	96
Honorary medical and other appointments in District of Columbia	30
	126

To recapitulate, there are of—

Class I	34,478
Class II	3,175
Class III	6,660
Class IV	126

Total force unpaid by appropriations, not salaried specifically by law, and paid only by fees, subtracting 280 district attorneys and public land officers, who receive a small specified salary as part of their remuneration, 44,159

As the total civil list has been shown to number but **67,757** persons, (according to the last Blue Book,) it follows that of persons whose salaries are designated by law, provided for by regular appropriation bills, and paid out of the revenue collected to meet the demands of Government, there are in all but **23,318** persons.

These facts, and they cannot be substantially controverted, prove on how shallow a foundation rests the outcry against a swollen civil list, and the so-called extravagance of salaries. It will prove, after all, that the salary bill is but the smaller portion of the expenses of a proper administration of this great Government. While referring to the question of labor cost, it should be borne in mind that there are quite a number of important bureaus which sustain themselves out of the receipts of their office. The Patent Office and the Consular service not only pay for themselves, but turn in a large surplus to the Treasury. Both of these agreeable facts have become so under Republican administration. The land offices materially aid in meeting their own expenses out of the fees and sales they receive. The postal service pays for more than two-thirds of its cost. Some of its branches, such as the money order business, net a surplus to the Department. The Judiciary is largely self-sustaining also. Under Republican legislation, rigid inquiry has been had into the fee system, and in all branches a maximum limitation has been placed upon the amount any one officer may receive as remuneration. This and similar measures are certainly reformatory in character. During the Democratic rule of a third of a century that party never investigated or corrected any abuse of this or similar character. In examining the aggregate of expenditures under the form of salaries it must be borne in mind that there are only 1,500 postmasters whose remuneration exceeds \$1,000 per annum, and that of the remainder, all of whom are paid out of their office receipts, more than 25,000 do not receive over \$100 per annum. These points might be greatly multiplied, but those given are sufficient for the present purpose. In conclusion, it seems proper to affirm that our political history has not here-

tofore presented as mean, petty, and base a partisanship as that which now characterizes the current actions and criticisms of the accidental Democratic majority in the House of Representatives. There is neither honor or courtesy in their dealings with opponents, or political integrity and sagacity displayed in their attitude towards the executive branches of the Government itself. The misrepresentation herein exposed fairly illustrate their senseless and unpatriotic position.

Presidents.

The following table, prepared for reference, shows the political sentiments and the date of the inauguration of each President, the length of time he lived after that event, and his age at the time of his death:

1. George Washington, Independent, inaugurated 1789; lived 10 years; age 68.
 2. John Adams, Independent, inaugurated 1797; lived 29 years; age 90.
 3. Thomas Jefferson, Democrat, inaugurated 1801, lived 25 years; age 83.
 4. James Madison, Democrat, inaugurated 1809; lived 27 years; age 85.
 5. James Monroe, Democrat, inaugurated 1817; lived 14 years; age 73.
 6. John Q. Adams, Whig, inaugurated 1825, lived 23 years; age 81.
 7. Andrew Jackson, Democrat, inaugurated 1829; lived 16 years; age 78.
 8. Martin Van Buren, Democrat, inaugurated 1837; lived 25 years; age 80.
 9. W. H. Harrison, Whig, inaugurated 1841; lived 1 month; age 68.
 10. John Tyler, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1841; lived 21 years; age 72.
 11. James K. Polk, Democrat, inaugurated 1845; lived 4 years; age 54.
 12. Zachary Taylor, Whig, inaugurated 1849; lived 16 months; age 66.
 13. Millard Fillmore, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1850; lived 24 years, age 74.
 14. Franklin Pierce, Democrat, inaugurated 1853; lived 16 years; age 65.
 15. James Buchanan, Democrat, inaugurated 1857; lived 11 years; age 77.
 16. Abraham Lincoln, Republican; inaugurated 1861; lived 4 years and 1½ months; age 56.
 17. Andrew Johnson, V. P., Independent, inaugurated 1865; lived 10 years; age 67.
 18. General Grant, Republican, inaugurated 1869.
- Tyler and Fillmore were elected Vice Presidents as Whigs and Johnson as a Republican. Their "independence" followed their inauguration as Presidents.

PROPOSED PENSIONS FOR REBELS.

Few nations have been called upon to place upon their pension-rolls so large a number of pensioners as we have. The rebellion caused a fearful loss of life and distress among those persons who responded to the call of the country to save the Union. Men who suffered the loss of limbs or of eyesight or of health in the direct line of duty, and the widows and orphans of soldiers and sailors who fell in the service, were properly provided with pensions. A pension, however, was not given so much as a reward for loyalty. It was granted more out of the gratitude of the people for the devotion and sacrifice of those who stood forth in the hour of the nation's peril and aided in its preservation.

But the men who took part in the rebellion, and fought against the Union and the cause it represented, have no such claim. To reward such men if they suffered would be a discrimination in favor of treasonous disloyalty, and place the rebel and his dependents on the same footing with the soldiers who fought and saved the Union. In order, therefore, to guard against the commission of such gross injustice a law was enacted which has been reproduced in section 4,716 in the Revised Statutes. That section reads as follows, viz:

"No money on account of pension shall be paid to any person, or to the widow, children, or heirs of any deceased person, who in any manner voluntarily engaged in or aided or abetted the late rebellion against the authority of the United States."

Now, the Confederacy, which was the product of the rebellion against the authority of the United States, having been destroyed by the Union forces in the field, has gathered its scattered elements in the National Congress; and the assembled Confederates in the House and Senate, appearing in the guise of representatives of the people, seem to be actuated by the same spirit as when the war prevailed, and to be resolved to do all they can on behalf of their comrades and their families and against the interests of the Union. Accordingly, wherever Republican legislation protected the Federal Treasury, or confined payments therefrom to

persons of known loyalty, the Confederates in Congress have set themselves to reverse that legislation, and open the way for the entrance of disloyalty to seize upon the public money.

These recent efforts to extend the pension-rolls by quartering rebel sympathizers and their families upon them is explained in House bill No. 2,991, introduced by Mr. McFarland, to repeal the above section of the Revised Statutes. This bill has not attracted much attention, but its principle is so impudently and monstrosously wrong that it deserves a close examination and should be remembered. The text of the bill is as follows:

"*Be it enacted, &c.* That section forty-seven hundred and sixteen of the Revised Statutes of the United States be, and the same is hereby, repealed; and the Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized and directed to place on the pension-rolls the names of all persons who may be entitled to a pension under existing laws, notwithstanding they may have served in the rebel army prior to such service, and pay to such persons, their widows or children, a pension as provided by law in other cases, from and after the passage of this act."

It is almost always safe to assume that when a Southern Democratic member of the House or Senate desires to repeal a section of the Revised Statutes he either aims at protecting the Democratic South in its disloyalty or to reward his disloyal comrades for their treason out of the Treasury of the United States. This is not a condition of affairs that the people are likely to approve, and Representatives especially will resolve that their votes shall be cast to defeat forever the hope of treason in that direction. The bill above cited has in substance been passed by the House majority, as a report from the Committee on Revolutionary Pensions, which committee is presided over by an ex-rebel brigadier—Hunton, of Virginia.

If some Democratic genius could invent some plan to utilize the gas daily generated in the present House of Representatives the appropriation for lighting public buildings might be stricken out altogether. As an economic idea we commend it to the faithful.

REMINISCENCES OF PERSONS AND EVENTS DURING THE TWO TERMS OF GENERAL JACKSON'S PRESIDENCY.

No man of this country or of any other ever possessed in a greater degree the confidence of the people, or excelled in personal popularity with the masses than Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee. Politicians were not always satisfied with him, not even those who had largely participated in the success of the party that twice elected him to the Presidential office; but the people were ever with him, and believed in his honest, devoted patriotism, stood by him in every act in his administration of public affairs, when political leaders of the party were alarmed if not disaffected at times by the bold aggressive movements of the brave and intrepid soldier. It is related of a Pennsylvania farmer, who having sold, in Philadelphia, a wagon-load of products from his farm some twenty miles back in the country, was offered in payment the notes of the United States Bank, then at a premium of one per cent. over the State bank circulation, when to the surprise of the purchaser he declined to take them in payment, simply saying that General Jackson had said the Bank was bad and corrupt, and therefore he did not care to have anything to do with it.

A true and staunch friend, he never was known to abandon any one in whom he had placed confidence, or for whom he had any friendly feeling although the whole world might go against his views and opinions. He was ever the defender of the weak against the strong, and no man ever surpassed the old Hero in his chivalric appreciation of woman, or in his disposition to protect and defend her at all times against any species of aggression or persecution. This noble disposition had been increased in him in consequence of the base and dastardly attack that was made on his domestic life during the canvass for his first presidential term, and even upon the beloved partner of his joys and sorrows, whose life, it was believed, was shortened by such attacks and persecutions.

This trait in his character for gallant defense of woman was brought fully into action on the memorable embroilment in Washing-

ton society in 1831, in which the members of his Cabinet and their families were principally and immediately interested. Reference is here made to the unpleasant condition of affairs immediately preceding the dissolution of the Cabinet in that year. The rupture that had taken place between General Jackson and Mr. Calhoun, to which more particular allusion will be made further on, was soon followed by an event naturally to follow as a consequence—that of breaking up the President's Cabinet. Several members classed as the political friends of Mr. Calhoun could not be expected to remain as ministers to General Jackson while adhering to that gentleman. This dissolution of the Cabinet, however, was hastened and more immediately brought about by the embroilment in high society referred to above. The main difficulty and source of these troubles in society, as the General believed, arose from a wanton and unprovoked persecution on the part of the Calhounites, of the family of his friend and favorite minister, General Eaton, then Secretary of War, aimed as an indirect attack on himself, and similar in effect to the dastardly war made on his own domestic peace during his first candidacy for the Presidential office.

Mr. Samuel D. Ingham, the Secretary of the Treasury, visited the President at the suggestion of Colonel R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, the reputed slayer of Tecumseh, to see if some harmonious compromise could not be made whereby he and others could remain in position—for although friends and admirers of Mr. Calhoun, and therefore necessarily and to some extent disaffected toward General Jackson, yet they seemed desirous, to use a modern phrase—to stick; but the President was far from being conciliated, and, as Mr. Ingham reported back to Colonel Johnson, he had become very violent, and, as he remarked under considerable excitement, that he would never again undertake such a mission, for the President was not only violent, but seemed to roar at him like a maddened lion. Colonel Johnson said he would

go to him and see if the lion would roar at him; possibly the old Hero had roared enough for that occasion, for he received the Colonel, for whom he had a high regard, with that impressive dignity that was never surpassed by any high official in receiving those who approached him, especially under such extraordinary circumstances as then existed. Colonel Johnson warmly deprecated the course affairs were taking—that they would lead to a breaking up of his Cabinet, and feared that the people of the country would become alarmed and disaffected at so unusual an event. The President, in his determined manner, assured him that he need not entertain any apprehensions with regard to the reception of such an occurrence by the people, who would, in their accustomed common-sense way of looking at causes and effects, be but little concerned by the changes which might take place in his Cabinet.

The result was as foreseen by Colonel Johnson—the Cabinet was dissolved, and as foreseen by the President the people seemed to care but little about it. Mr. Van Buren, Secretary of State, and General Eaton, Secretary of War, being the special, personal, and political friends of General Jackson, having tendered their resignations, the balance of his Cabinet were, of course, necessitated to follow their example, thus terminating a Council to the President in which Mr. Calhoun had been largely represented, and which, consequently, could no longer be palatable to the President. General Eaton and his family went to Florida, where he had been appointed Governor, and subsequently as Minister to Spain. Mr. Van Buren went as Minister to England, and the rest of that famous Cabinet retired from public to private life, from whence they never afterward emerged.

In the election for President which took place in 1832, the successful ticket before the people bore the name of the old hero of New Orleans for President, with that of Mr. Van Buren for Vice President, and their inauguration took place amidst great party rejoicings on the 4th of March, 1833, being the second term of General Jackson.

A great change had taken place in the political as well as in the personal relations of

the distinguished leaders who had figured so prominently in the exciting movements of the previous four years. Mr. Clay had again been beaten, and the political feud between him and the President had increased in bitterness, assuming constantly thereafter personal dislike and antipathy. Mr. Van Buren had succeeded Mr. Calhoun to the Vice Presidency, and was now to preside over the Senate, in which the latter was to be simply a Senator; nor was this all of the discomfiture of the ambitious South Carolinian. The strong ties of personal and political friendship that had so long existed between him and General Jackson had been suddenly and violently severed—never to be restored again. It had been discovered to General Jackson through the revelations of William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had been a member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet during the time that General Jackson had control of military affairs in Florida, that instead of Mr. Calhoun (also of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet) having defended him against serious charges brought up in Cabinet for transcending his powers and authority in Florida, he was for strict investigation, and for such punishment as the extraordinary circumstances demanded; and that it was Mr. John Quincy Adams who had on that critical occasion espoused his cause and defended him against any extreme proceedings on the part of the Government.

This discovery was a sad blow and a great surprise to General Jackson, for he had been for a number of years firmly under the impression that it was to Mr. Calhoun that he was indebted for such friendly aid and defense at so critical a period, and the discovery to a man of his temperament, having an extreme sensitiveness about everything that concerned his military fame, naturally awakened no ordinary indignation and resentment. A correspondence ensued between him and Mr. Calhoun, which had no effect whatever in healing the breach in their friendship; but, on the contrary, it only widened it, and the General, getting mad, abruptly closed the correspondence with the deprecatory address of Cæsar to Brutus, "*Et tu Brute.*"

This unfortunate severance of the old ties of personal and political friendship between

the President and Mr. Calhoun was in every way disastrous and fatal to the latter. Mr. Van Buren succeeded to the place in the affections of the President that had but so lately been occupied by Mr. Calhoun, and in consequence Mr. Van Buren was placed on the ticket in 1832 for the office of Vice President, with the clearly defined will and pleasure of the old hero that he should succeed him in the Presidency. This assertion of the influence and power of General Jackson, based on his unequalled popularity with the people to nominate his successor, and to have him chosen by the people, will be fully sustained by the history of the times—and that not only did this great influence and the power of his name extend to his immediate successor, but will apply also to the nomination and election of Mr. Polk in 1844.

These sudden and overwhelming reverses in Mr. Calhoun's political and personal fortunes made him well-nigh a desperate man. Seeing that he was no longer in the line of "safe precedents," and that the aspiring son of New York had stepped in and jostled him from his ambitious path, where but a short while before he seemed so secure for the high prize in view, and that there remained no possible hope for him to regain his former happy footing, he in an evil hour resorted to his celebrated nullification doctrine.

There has scarcely been in the country greater excitement than that which arose from the discussions in the Senate on the tariff question during the session of 1832-'33. South Carolina under the lead of her heretofore popular and distinguished son, Mr. Calhoun, had assumed the fearful attitude of angry and almost belligerent opposition to the execution of the revenue laws, and at no time probably had there been graver apprehensions for the future of the country than existed then. It was but the dark, gloomy omen and forerunner of what was to follow afterward in 1861, and the dread and dismay which then oppressed the hearts of all patriots simply foreshadowed the horrors that came upon the land from 1861 to 1865.

General Jackson issued his famous proclamation warning the people of South Carolina against any disaffection to the Government, or any attempt to resist the due execution of

laws made by the high authority of Congress, and followed this great address by sending troops to Charleston under the command of General Scott to guarantee and enforce, if need was, the execution of the revenue laws.

During this eminently critical period threatening the national peace, Mr. Calhoun arose in his place in the Senate and made the following alarming declaration that South Carolina was in "battle array," ready to resist the execution of the iniquitous revenue laws for the collection of revenue under an unjust and unconstitutional tariff. Such was the dread and fearful impression made on the minds of Senators and the crowded audience that for a while the feeling was intensely oppressive and painful, for it was known that General Jackson was intently watching every movement on the part of the political leaders of South Carolina, and that had there been an overt act in the way of resistance, going so far as to the shedding of blood after such a speech, there was no knowing what dire results would have happened from the stern determination of the great and patriotic chief then at the head of public affairs, who it was well known would never compromise in any way for the violation of the laws of his country. It was at this momentous juncture, when Mr. Calhoun had so startled and alarmed Senators and audience, that Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, hastily penciled a note to Mr. Clay, and sent it by a page of the Senate, in these exciting words: "For God's sake save him, or he is lost."

Mr. Clayton well knew the inflexible and indomitable will and temper of Andrew Jackson, and that had there been blood shed in resisting the revenue laws after this daringly bold and almost treasonable speech, that the fate of the South Carolina Senator was already determined on, and that with such a man as Jackson in the Presidential chair there would be no compromise or vacillation in the discharge of his high and imperative duties.

Mr. Clay did save him and his State from a very fearful predicament, and in his compromise measures at that time allayed and fully quieted the storm that seemed ready to burst over the Government and the country.

General Jackson's firmness of character

his determination to submit to no wrong to the Government at home or abroad, made him feared and respected everywhere. Witness the action of France in settling up long delayed arrears of debt to the United States when the old soldier and statesman had it intimated to the French Government through our minister at Versailles that the time had come for a settlement, and that no further delay could be tolerated with proper regard to our national honor.

It may not be amiss to say here that it would be of importance to the people of the United States to look well to the character of such a man, and to reflect upon the incalculable advantage of having at all times, if possible, just such a man at the head of public affairs to insure and guarantee the due observance of their rights and laws both at home and abroad; and in this connection it may be safely stated, and without fear of any possible question, that had General Jackson been in the Presidential chair when the political leaders of the South, leaving their seats in both houses of Congress, went forth to inaugurate a civil war, that they would not have reached their homes for such a purpose, nor indeed would they have dared to venture on so dire an errand if he had been President and commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

With the people of the District of Columbia, where he lived as President for eight years, he was greatly respected and beloved. They soon learned to know his inflexible justice and his fixed rule of action with regard to all transactions between the officers and employees of the Government and the people of the District. He would not allow any long continued indebtedness on the part of officials who were receiving their monthly pay from the Government, and who on account of being in the receipt of such Government pay had received credit for any kind of supplies or accommodations. Knowing this, he was very frequently appealed to by creditors against their delinquent customers, and they never failed to secure a liquidation of the indebtedness, or so secured as to guarantee a speedy payment. One of these applications to the General, and which created

much amusement at the time, was that of a lady who kept a boarding-house, and with whom a young man from Tennessee, a clerk in one of the Departments, and of a family for whom the President had a warm regard and friendship, had boarded for several months without paying his board bill and with little apparent likelihood that he intended paying it very soon, and for which she was greatly in want. The General listened to her complaint very patiently, and with his usual kindness and courtesy to the fair sex, and when she had told him her story, he advised her to get the gentleman's note for what he owed her. At this the poor lady's heart sank, and she said, "General, what good will his note do me? He will care as little about paying a note as the open account I have handed him so frequently"—but her heart grew something lighter when the President told her to get the note and bring it to him—for she saw that there might be something in it. She went home and very readily got the required note, as the gentleman said he was very willing to give it, and would include the interest, as she should not lose the interest as long as he owed her hereafter. Smiling at the liberality of her debtor, she returned to the President and submitted to him the document, wondering what would be the next move towards getting her money. To her extreme surprise the President took up a pen from his office table and wrote on the back of the note his own great name—Andrew Jackson. Almost overcome by grateful surprise she arose to take her leave, when the President said to her: "Madam, you will please take the note to the cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis with my request that he will discount it at once, and that he will please to give timely notice of maturity to the maker of the note. Timely notice was given, and it is needless to add that the note was paid promptly when it became due, without taking advantage even of the usual three days' grace.

Great injustice has been done to the character and fame of General Jackson in the estimate made of him, mostly by his political opponents, especially in charging him with tyranny in the exercise of an almost fero-

cious will in his great public career. Nothing was ever more unfounded.

Colonel Thomas H. Benton, who of all men of their times knew him best from many years' acquaintance, and who, from having been in deadly feud with him at an early period of their lives in Tennessee, became, after he attained to the Presidential office, his warmest and most devoted friend, writes in the following interesting manner of him in his "Thirty Years View," published after General Jackson's death:

"His temper was placable, as well as irascible, and his reconciliations were cordial and sincere. Of that my own case was a signal instance. After a deadly feud I became his confidential adviser, was offered the highest marks of his favor, and received from his dying bed a message of friendship, dictated when life was departing, and when he would have to pause for breath. There was a deep vein of piety in him, unaffectedly showing itself in his reverence for divine worship, respect for ministers of the gospel, their hospitable reception in his house, and constant encouragement of all the pious tendencies of Mrs. Jackson. And when they both afterward became members of a church it was the natural and regular result of their early and cherished feelings. He was gentle in his house, and alive to the tenderest emotions; and of this I can give an instance, greatly in contrast with his supposed character, and worth more than a long discourse in showing what that character really was. I arrived at his house one wet, chilly evening in February, and came upon him in the twilight, sitting alone before the fire, a child and a lamb between his knees. He started a little, called a servant to remove the two innocents to another room, and explained to me how it was. The child had cried because the lamb was out in the cold, and begged him to bring it in, which he had done to please the child, his adopted son, then not two years old. The ferocious man does not do that! and though General Jackson had his passions and his violence, they were for men and his enemies who stood up against him, and not for women and children, or the weak and helpless, for all of whom his feelings were those of protection and support."

The great old patriot is gone from earth to heaven, and there never can scarcely ever be a name connected with the history of this country that will be more prized or held in higher estimation than that of Andrew Jackson.

True man—staunch friend, and true pa-

triot—he loved his country and its institutions, and was, all through a long and eventful life, devoted to its honor and best interests. He loved the people, and always felt that they would stand by him in all his political acts, because they believed that he would ever serve them truly and faithfully.

In conclusion, it may be safely said that there never existed a public character who through life acted more thoroughly on the principle inculcated in the solemn and impressive adjuration of the great churchman and statesman, Cardinal Wolsey, to his friend and follower, Cromwell—

—“Be just and fear not. Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's, thy God's, and truth's.”

ENCOURAGING EDUCATION.—As a fair sample of Democratic economy we give the following, clipped from the legislative, executive, and judicial appropriation bill, as reported to the House of Representatives, March 8, 1876, “For contingent expenses of the Bureau of Education, namely: Stationery, cases for library, library, current educational periodicals, cases for official records, other current publications, completing valuable sets of periodicals and publications in the library, telegraphing and expressage, collecting statistics, and writing and compiling matter for annual and special reports and editing and publishing circulars of information, fuel and lights, office furniture, contingencies, one thousand two hundred and ten dollars.”

The Commissioner of Education called for \$21,200 for the prosecution of the important work intrusted to his charge, and the Democratic committee, with a high appreciation of educational advantages, very generously gives \$1,210—a sum hardly sufficient to run a country school through the winter. This cutting-down process may enable the Democracy to save the seven millions they boast of, but while they were at it they could have saved more by refusing to appropriate a dollar for Government expenses. Then, instead of boasting over a saving of seven millions, they could have held up before the astonished people a clear saving of twenty millions. Economy may be a golden virtue when properly exercised, but when practiced at the expense of public necessities it ceases to be a virtue and becomes a positive vice.

THE REBELLION AND ITS SECRET HISTORY.

We are prone to forget how deep-rooted the secession or disunion heresy is until we are aroused by the utterances of some of its advocates. We forget, too, how long the idea of disunion was cherished before an attempt was made to realize it. The following letters to Jefferson Davis from prominent conspirators, (never before published, we think) show that treason was constantly in these men's minds. It will take another generation at least to eradicate it. In the meantime the Government must be sustained, and administered by the loyal and true men of the Republic.

[Indorsement.]

A. P. BUTLER, U. S. S.

EDGEFIELD, S. C., June 16, 1851.

To Colonel Jeff. Davis :

South Carolina very much *in earnest*, but there is fear of division. An issue has been made before the people, making it imperative for her convention to put the State on the trial of *separate secession*. How could such a move affect the cause in Mississippi? And would it help or impair the strength of the States' rights men in other States? Fear South Carolina will make a vain sacrifice if she moves alone without the co-operation of other States. Appeals for counsel and suggestions.

Important!

STONELANDS, NEAR EDGEFIELD,
Confidential. June 16, 1851.

MY DEAR COLONEL: "The looker on can sometimes see more than the gamester." Such being your situation at the time, in reference to our affairs in South Carolina, I hope I may appeal to you for counsel and for suggestions. Our people are very much in earnest, but there is fear of division and intestine contest. An issue has been made before the people making it imperative on our convention to put South Carolina on the trial of *separate secession*.

How will such a move affect the party of true men in your State? Will it help you, or will it impair the strength or interfere with the onward movements of the States' rights parties in other States. I believe this State could be induced to make any sacrifice for the common cause of those who contend that the General Government is a confederacy, and not a consolidated government. If it is of the latter character, then the Southern States are doomed to degraded subordination. They can hold these rights by no other tenure than sufferance. Should South Caro-

lina move alone, without the assistance from her neighbors of co-operation, she will, I fear, make a vain sacrifice.

Give me your opinion, confidentially, as to the course she should pursue, so far as it may affect the interests of other Southern States. Do write freely.

Believe me yours, with the highest respect,
A. P. BUTLER.

COLONEL JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Mississippi*.

P. S. I write to you at Jackson, supposing that a letter will reach you from that place as from any other.

[Indorsement.]

J. M. MASON.

WINCHESTER, VA., September 30, 1856.

To Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War.

Requests the Secretary of War to exchange muskets with Virginia. Says in "event of Fremont's election the South should not pause, but proceed at once to immediate, absolute, and eternal separation. So you see I am a candidate for the first halter!"

Important.

SELMA, NEAR WINCHESTER, VA.,
September 30, 1856.

MY DEAR SIR: I have a letter from Wise, of the 27th, full of spirit. He says the Governors of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Louisiana have already agreed to the *rendezvous* at Raleigh, and others will. This in your most private ear.

He says further that he had officially requested you to exchange with Virginia on fair terms of difference percussion for flint muskets. I do not know the usage or power of the Department in such cases, but if it can be done, *even* by liberal construction, I hope you will accede.

Was there not an appropriation at last session for converting flint into percussion arms? If so, would it not furnish good reason for extending such facilities to those States. Virginia, probably, has more arms than other Southern States, and would divide in case of need.

In a letter yesterday to a committee in South Carolina I gave it as my judgment, in the event of Fremont's election, the South should not pause, but proceed at once to "immediate, absolute, and eternal separation." So you see I am a candidate for the first halter.

Wise says his accounts from Philadelphia are cheering for old Buck. in Pennsylvania. I hope they be not delusive.

Vale et Salute.

J. M. MASON.

COLONEL DAVIS.

[Indorsement.]

Anonymous—"Senex."

MEMPHIS, November 18, 1856.

Election of Buchanan only a temporary triumph! Make it available to the South; so constitute the Cabinet as to retain the *sineus of power*—the War, Treasury, and Navy Departments—in Southern hands, that in the event of the election of a Black Republican President in 1860 the Government must not pass to them. A Napoleonic demonstration would be called for—*grab game the policy*. Suggests the names of Cass, Cobb, Toucey, &c., for the Cabinet.

Very suggestive.

MEMPHIS, TENN., November 18, 1856.

HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

MY DEAR SIR: I congratulate you on the victory recently achieved by the Democracy of the nation. It is but a temporary triumph. The fanatical demons of the North in 1860 will again be in the field. Revolutions never go backward. We are now in the midst of a revolution, passive it is true—but a decisive battle is yet to be fought. Our Constitution does not suit the South. The *privilege of slavery* guaranteed to the South is the bone of contention, and heaven and hell will be brought to bear for its abolition.

We have a temporary triumph. Let us profit by it—make the most of it—so constitute Mr. Buchanan's Cabinet that the *sineus of power* will be available in the event of the election of a Black Republican in 1860—available to the South. See to it you Southern men about Washington that the Departments of the *Treasury* and *War*, and even of the *Navy*, are retained in Southern hands—for if a Black Republican is elected in 1860 the Government should not be permitted to pass into their power—a *Napoleonic demonstration* would, in that event, be called for—*grab-game the policy*. Therefore, I repeat, let certain Departments be given to true Southern men.

Some such ticket as the following, viz: Lewis Cass, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb, Secretary of Treasury; T. J. Rusk, Secretary of War; —Toucey, Secretary of Interior; F. P. Stanton or Orr of South Carolina, Secretary of Navy; General Richardson, Postmaster General; Hallet or Slidell, of South Carolina, Attorney General.

Douglas and Hunter, of Virginia, had better remain in the Senate; General Quitman ought to go to Nicaragua; A. V. Brown, who will expect something, can be sent as Minister to France; D. S. Dickinson may go with the State Department if General Cass decline, or in the Navy if preferred.

The South is proud of you as a military man and as a statesman. You may have to act the Leonidas for the South—we may

have to pass through a Thermopylæ ordeal. The crusaders, infuriated with religious fanaticism, will bedown upon us. They will find a Saladin to welcome them to hospitable graves! The Richards and Phillips of the campaign will be glad to get back to their Yankee dams to sicken and die with traitorous remorse.

Oh! that the South were wise—that she could become united. In the next campaign the North will attempt to abolitionize not only all foreigners in the South and North—but through such men as Cassius Clay, J. Minor Botts, Rayner & Co., attempt to abolitionize all the non-slaveholders in the South. Houston, Bell, Benton, Blair & Co. will look on with complacency and give indirect aid and comfort.

Long may our Constitutional Union last is the prayer of every Democrat—but give us equality, preserve our honor, or give us a new order of things!

Excuse the liberty of a stranger.

Yours truly in the faith, SENEX.

POOR ECONOMY.—The Democratic House of Representatives want to show the people how large a saving can be made in the expenses of the Government. They have adopted a novel and simple plan to obtain what they want. They cut down salaries from ten to twenty per cent.; then cut down the force employed about twenty per cent., and the desired end is accomplished. Their plan may work great injustice to individuals and positive injury to the business of the Government, but they are after a big saving, and just how they get it, or where they get it from, are matters of secondary importance. The Commissioner of Pensions is one of the hardest worked officers of the Government. On his decision the Government pays millions of dollars to the pensioners of the land. He is required to be a man of personal integrity and ability. The disbursements made upon his settlements are about \$30,000,000 a year. For this important and responsible work he receives an annual salary of \$3,000. The Democrats cut it down to \$2,700. This is in keeping with the shaving business in which they are now engaged.

Three hundred dollars taken from a poorly paid Government official is of itself a trifling amount, but it goes to make up the seven millions saving over which Democratic leaders will grow eloquent next fall. No doubt Pendleton, the saintly fee taker, who presides over a Kentucky railroad for the starvation salary of \$6,000 a year, and pockets \$74,000 fee for collecting \$148,000, which he claimed was honestly due the company, will rattle the changes on this economy dodge in the vain hope that the people will turn honest men out of office in order to put rascals in.

OUR PUBLIC SERVICE.

The unfortunate disorders in our public service, and the misdemeanors and crimes committed by high and trusted officials, which have recently been revealed, will be seized by demagogues as a most welcome opportunity for the furtherance of their selfish ends. That these startling revelations have aroused the public indignation is very natural. But it is not less natural that the indignant public should be misdirected by the creation of public prejudices, from which everything is seen but the proper source of the evil, and by which a cure is promised that eventually must prove worse than the evil sought to be cured. The recently expired mania of the so-called "Civil Service Reform" is an instance sufficient to illustrate this assertion without looking for further proof from history. It behooves us, therefore, to face the evil bravely, trace it to its proper source, and then find the true remedy.

That the Republican party which saved the Union, and achieved such a far-reaching success in the progress of the Nation and of humanity in general, has become worthless, and ought to be abolished because a certain number of officials proved themselves unworthy of the trust with which they were honored by its administration, is an illogical conclusion, and of no credit to common sense. That the evil of corruption can be remedied by conveying the helm of the Government from one party to another is simply ridiculous. Such an assertion characterizes the demagogue, or his brainless echoes. The Democratic rule of the State and city of New York, past and present, does not justify the empty promises that that party would fill the Federal offices more creditably than the present administration if put in its place. Nor has the Democratic rule of Missouri, under which ex-Governor Brown still remains a defaulter to the State in a large amount, and under which \$2,000,000 of fraudulent war claims have been thrown into the market, exhibited the same determination to punish the guilty parties that our General Government has demonstrated in

bringing its criminals to justice. The idea that corrupt and dishonest individuals can only be found in the party in power, and that a reign of purity would commence with its removal from power, is so ridiculous that it would be difficult to believe in its existence in the brains of any human being if we did not see and hear it defended in newspaper articles and oratorical efforts.

But it would be a very poor justification for us to say to the opposing party: you have also unclean sheep in your fold, and have, therefore, no right to accuse us of the same impurity. We are merely endeavoring to demonstrate the truth that corruption is not confined within the limits that characterize a certain political party, but that it is a disgraceful element pervading *the people of our Republic*.

Where, then, may we look for the remedy against the startling corruption to which even our unfortunate Cabinet minister has fallen a victim? Certainly not to the Democracy, which, as a political party, has been, and is still, combatting every sound principle of government and national economy with a persistency worthy of a better cause. This party is still proclaiming, through its representatives in Congress, its unwavering adherence to the heresy of the so-called State rights, notwithstanding the same has been theoretically and practically denounced and abolished, and finally buried by the discarding of the original articles of confederation, the adoption of the present Constitution, and the victorious termination of the rebellion, crowned by the adoption of the last constitutional amendments. This party is still justifying secession, declares the suppression of the rebellion a crying injustice to the Southern States, and threatens to make the constitutional amendments, secured by the last fearful struggle of the nation, of no effect as soon as it gets the power to do so. Then the Union men will be placed in the unenviable position of rebels, provided they do not tamely submit to such a pretense and farce of a government. Can the people of the land so far forget themselves as to throw

recklessly away their rights and liberties, their whole government, secured by rivers of blood and millions of money, by making that party the guardian of their highest political rights, while the confession is on its lips that it would take great pleasure in destroying them? Could we escape corruption by such a suicidal act? Is not a general demoralizing element necessarily very fruitful of individual corruption?

Reform parties have made themselves so contemptible that it requires idiocy to expect any political salvation from such pretenders. Their records show nothing but illogical phrases and questionable acts. "Reformers" as well as society need a thorough reformation before true reform can take place.

The two main factors of which our startling corruptions are the product, are society and the manner in which our public officers are rewarded, either by salaries or fees.

The recently developed calamities of official misconduct should be sufficient to cause the most thoughtless member of our gay society to stop and reflect a moment on the irresistible logic of facts. If the current of our social conduct is not soon differently directed it must terminate in a terrible catastrophe. Let the gay, gaudy, and recklessly extravagant butterflies of society remember the blood-curdling retribution that overtook the French debauchees in the "reign of terror" for their scoffing at poverty. Is it not an indisputable fact that the demands of society on our leading officials are so cruel and merciless that they are compelled to select one of two existing evils, *i. e.*, either to live within the reasonable limits characterizing the lives of decent and respectable citizens, and be considered and treated with bitter contempt as "nobodies," because they do not make enough show, or to squander recklessly their honest income, together with any private means they may have, in order to be considered "passable in society?" Does it not require a moral Hercules to resist the temptations to corruption under such circumstances? It is a deplorable trait of the American character to estimate a man's value according to the amount of cash he can command, and the gay and

glittering display he is able to make. How he came to his money, that does not concern our gay society. The only question considered of importance is: is he in possession of it? The worship of money and display goes so far that a person who has served his well deserved term in the penitentiary will be over-burdened with attention and compliments as the "hero of the day" if he can satisfy such perverted social demands. A good intellect and a noble character are of secondary consideration; and if these manly qualities cannot be supported by plenty of money and display of reckless extravagance, then they are surely not worth noticing. And this is, to a great extent, the criterion according to which the ballots are cast in a great many of our public elections. This trait of our national character can be traced from our highest to our lowest social circles, adopted in every locality and grade of society to local circumstances. Only the heroic and noble exceptions to this popular spirit are the sound foundation of our government.

May our people study the truth in time, and practically, that such money worship and money aristocracy and nobility cannot be reconciled with a democratic government or a government of the people, but must work its destruction. Reforms in our public service will only begin when the people shall consider no other aristocracy and nobility as worthy of notice and public admiration than that of brains and nobility of character; when the saying will be considered as an insult to our republican government, "It is impossible for a poor man to hold a Cabinet office." How many are to-day very profuse in their condemnations of the conduct of ex-Secretary Belknap who work at the same time with an untiring and contemptible persistence at the cultivation of the low and unworthy spirit that caused his downfall. *Reform the people, and you will reform our public service! One is impossible without the other.* The pretended reformer who proclaims a different *modus* for the eradication of our social and political evils is either a demagogue, or—an imbecile.

Not only a perverted public ambition, of which the people are as guilty as public officers, is the cause of our official corruption,

but also the rate at, and the manner in which our public service is rewarded. But in the very face of this fact we see the present Congress indulging in the cheap effort of reducing our public service still further below the limits of respectability.

A man with an extensive business, who needs well-qualified clerks, is compelled to give them a respectable salary in accordance with their qualifications and the importance of the work they have to perform. Even if he has not a spark of human kindness in his breast his self-interest will not allow him to secure second-rate and unreliable assistance for a cheap compensation at the risk of having his business ruined. Our Representatives should act with the same prudence in regard to our public service, instead of inaugurating a plan of which even the most hard-hearted businessmen would be ashamed.

The present salaries of our public servants were fixed when we had no depreciated currency, and when all the necessities for our subsistence could be bought at much lower rates. The salaries of our consuls compel them, either to represent American shabbiness in foreign countries, if they are honest, or American roguery, if their consciences are of spiritual india-rubber. Many have accepted consular appointments under the delusion that a decent and respectable position had been offered to them; but when they had the thing in their own hands and could look into its real value they found themselves cheated in a foreign country. The way to fraud and corruption is very easily found under such circumstances. And is the power free from blame that sets such traps?

The legitimate pay of the majority of our public servants is low; but they are, at the same time, surrounded by so many opportunities to make up for the lack of an honest compensation for their work, that it has, in many instances, the appearance of premiums being offered for corruption and dishonesty, especially if we take into consideration the perverted practice of society heretofore alluded to.

Where could an honest and capable man be found who would be insane enough to accept a public office if the legitimate compen-

sation of the public service should be reduced still lower, as proposed? The Government would then be compelled to select its officers from the scum of society. May the country in future be saved from such reformers and such mischievous economizing. Such retrenchment, in the wrong direction, is a striking illustration of the expression made by the German poet, Schiller: "This is the curse of the evil deed, that it must perpetuate evil."

What can be the cause of such an ill-directed retrenchment, so full of danger for our public affairs? Is it an honest but misconceived effort at economizing? It would merely be a poor recommendation of the intellectual capacities of these gentlemen, and redeem, at least, their honesty and good-will, if we could impute such a motive to their conduct. But we cannot honor them that much; because their real object is too obvious. It is the attempt of the demagogue, who begs for popularity with that class of people who estimate the value of labor according to the brute force its performance requires, and not according to its intellect and skill. How men misuse their precious gift of speech to hide their thoughts with!

Another source of corruption is our unfortunate fee system, because it works injustice to the Government and to officers alike. Officers have, in many cases, to work hard for a beggarly income, where the accidental fees on which they are dependent do not come in for various reasons. For instance, officers in consolidated land offices where little land is entered have meager commissions but a burdensome correspondence for their \$500 salary per annum; while in offices where much land is entered and heavy commissions received, the officers receive the same salary for comparatively very little other work. Such unequal divisions of work and pay, caused by our fee and commission system, could be pointed out in every department of our public service. And every injustice has its bad effect.

Our unjust and corrupting fee and commission system should be entirely abolished. The only just and reasonable method would be to classify our public work and fix for every class an adequate salary. All rev-

enues received in the different departments should be strictly accounted for, and no commissions or fees be allowed to officers beyond their fixed and reasonable salaries. Only under such a system, with capable and honest officers, would Government and officers receive their honest dues.

Order, uniformity, and justice in every direction on the part of the Government are the

first requirements for the suppression of corruption and the foundation for a lasting reform.

Our unfortunate law-makers in our national Capitol would earn the well-deserved thanks of the nation if they could turn their attention to these and similar reforms of our public service instead of making it more contemptible through their pretended and mischievous economizing.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY AND THE HORRORS OF ANDERSONVILLE.

The recent request made by THE REPUBLIC for the narratives of surviving ex-prisoners of war has been answered up to this writing by a mass of communications first published in local papers, or received by THE REPUBLIC direct. In every instance the writer's name, former regiment, and other essential marks of identification are given. There is something inexpressibly sad as well as shocking in the stern, deliberately stated details of premeditated cruelty these papers contain. It is almost damaging to human nature to reproduce them, but they offer the keenest proof of the demoralization which attended the support of slavery and defense of treason. These communications will be published as rapidly as may be. The one row given is from a member of the famous Sanitary Commission:

EDITORS REPUBLIC: After reading your recent appeal for testimony relating to the treatment and condition of Union soldiers in Confederate prisons, and Confederate soldiers in Union prisons, I am impelled to furnish for publication a plain uncolored narrative of a portion of my experience as agent of the Sanitary Commission during the last exchange of prisoners in the fall of '64.

On the first day of November, 1864, I went on board the "General Sedgwick" at Fortress Monroe, having permission from General Mulford to proceed, with the sanitary stores in my charge, to the point of exchange near Savannah, and there and thereafter to render assistance to the government surgeon on board in relieving the wants of those prisoners consigned to our steamer. On the 8th, with several other steamers, we sailed out of Hampton Roads. We were delayed several days at Beaufort and Port Royal, and not until the 20th did we reach our destination.

Venus Point, the point of exchange, is nothing more than a bend in the river about three miles below Savannah. Here we found

three river steamers flying the Confederate flag, and two ocean steamers with the Union flag at the mast-head. The exchange was evidently in progress. One of our steamers was lashed to one of theirs and gang-planks had been laid from one to the other. Representatives of both parties to the exchange stood, book in hand, keeping record of the number exchanged; while on deck stood General Mulford and the Confederate General Hatch personally superintending the disposition of the liberated men.

My first impression was, that we must have happened on the scene at a time when the Confederates were disposing of their worst cases, and that they were reserving the hardest prisoners to the last; but I afterwards found that no such classification had been attempted. The liberated Unionists were, with only now and then an exception, emaciated and insufficiently clothed. Some, unable to stand, much less to walk, were carried on stretchers on board our steamers; others were supported between stout assistants, scarcely able to move one foot before the other; many, though able to walk alone, dragged themselves along in a weak, spiritless manner, indicating a fearful lack of vitality. Nearly all bore on their haggard faces and emaciated bodies the unmistakable evidences of prolonged suffering and the consequent absence of hope or desire. Their enfeebled condition was the more striking because in such close contrast with that of the returned Confederates, nearly every man of whom was in splendid condition—their swarthiness of complexion, quick glance of the eye, and erect carriage indicating perfect health. Not one of the latter did I see who was unable to walk without assistance from one boat to the other.

But the contrast does not end here. The returned Confederates were comfortably clothed in suits furnished by the Government against which they had taken arms. But scarcely a man returned to us from Andersonville and other prison-pens of the South was the possessor of a suit of clothes entire. Very few

wore any underclothing. Here and there could be seen a man scantily clothed in a dirt-begrimed blouse, and a pair of pants rudely contrived out of flour-sacks or meal-bags. Such a one was fortunate. Scores and hundreds were nothing more than a pair of grimy pants, infested with vermin, and out at the knees and seat. Nearly all were barefooted, and many without covering for the head. The skin, rough and bronzed from long exposure, was drawn tightly over their ribs and chests, which protruded so far out from the sunken abdomen as to suggest at once the chief cause of their emaciated condition—slow starvation. So wasted were their limbs that their joints seemed enormous. Their hair and whiskers had a matted, brushy appearance suggestive of dirt and vermin. Their hollow eyes and sunken cheeks told the same terrible story of suffering and deprivation. But the most painful detail of this woeful picture vividly impressed upon my mind was the expression on the faces of these sufferers. In many instances the usual dead, passive look on the prisoners' faces gave way to one of almost idiotic exultation when they found themselves once more free and under the protection of our flag. And when food was given them all the latent wolfishness in man's nature found expression in their faces.

But many, alas, had passed beyond the point of hunger; and the tender of food could not rouse them from the hopeless lethargy into which they had fallen. There they lay stretched upon couches in the cabins of the steamers to which they had been consigned, their eyes staring vacantly upon the faces of their attendants, and at the timbers overhead. Some were too weak to make known their passing wants; others were too near the end of their sufferings to be affected by desire of any sort.

There for nearly three days I watched this unequal exchange of well-clothed, well-fed, healthy men, for half-naked, half-starved, sick and dying men. *Unequal exchange* did I say? From a low standpoint, as one would regard two droves of cattle, such was indeed the fact; but from a loftier standpoint the exchange was to the people of the North an unmixed blessing; for were not these horribly misused men whom we received in exchange for well-conditioned men ready for service, were not these wrecks of men our brothers, whom the cartel had possibly saved from a horrible death? During those three days frequent deaths occurred among our men, and I recall not a single death among the Confederates. At short intervals the firing of a rifle in air informed us that another imprisoned spirit had been set free. The dead bodies were sewed up in blankets and lowered into the river, the swamps on either side affording no opportunity for burial.

On Tuesday, the 22d, we received our load of five hundred, who were classified as "well men," the "General Sedgwick" not having the conveniences of the larger steamers for the care of the sick. If those placed in our charge were the *well* men, how wretched must have been the condition of the sick!

While I was busily engaged providing clothing for the destitute, and the officers of our steamer were busy preparing for our departure, a number of these half-famished men entered the hold and broke open several boxes of army crackers, or "hard-tack," which had been placed on board by the Sanitary Commission. The scene that ensued was indescribable. Rendered wolfish by hunger, they fought savagely for possession of the food. Now and then one would climb on deck with a few crackers in his hands, devouring them with an eagerness that was pitiable to behold. He would soon be surrounded by his equally hungry comrades and compelled to relinquish his food. And thus the strife was continued. Those who gorged themselves with hard tack, and then drank freely of water, were soon afterwards great sufferers from cramping pains, their weakened stomachs being unable to dispose of its heavy load.

I never saw a happier body of men than these five hundred prisoners were while partaking of their first full meal. *Full meal?* Hardly. Long after our three tierces of "Sanitary soup" had been emptied, like Oliver Twist, they kept calling for "more."

On personal inspection I found that nearly all these so-called "well men" were more or less afflicted with scurvy and a complication of other disorders; and that there were more than a score of them so feeble that it was doubtful about their being able to survive the ocean voyage to Annapolis.

On the afternoon of the 22d, we started down the river. Putting out to sea, we encountered a severe storm. Our little craft rolled and pitched furiously. The surgeon and his other assistants were soon on their backs, seasick, and the care of the released prisoners devolved wholly upon me. Passing frequently through the cabins, I found nearly all suffering terribly from sea-sickness, their weakened frames fearfully racked with frequent vomitings. In several cases, I momentarily expected death would ensue. But, fortunately, the wind went down at midnight; and, though the sea continued quite rough nearly all the next day, the worst was over, and the condition of the men steadily improved.

The remainder of the trip was delightful—the ocean nearly a dead calm. On the voyage I made the acquaintance of many of the men; and from all I learned the same sad story—of crowded and shelterless quarters,

of exposure to the hot sun by day and chilling winds by night, of miasma from adjoining swamps, of impure water, insufficient and unwholesome food, of frequent tragedies enacted along the dead-line, of efforts to escape made futile and sometimes fatal by the tracking of blood-hounds; stories which the recent false assertions of ex-Confederates Hill and Davis have, in most instances, brought into public notice for the first time. (See the reports that are now constantly coming to the surface, written by survivors of these cruelties.)

Of the numerous instances of rebel cruelty that came under my own observation on that return voyage, I will relate but two.

An Englishman, a resident of Lawrence, Massachusetts, who rendered us valuable assistance in caring for the sick in our charge, showed me the prints of teeth on his cheeks, and arms, and legs, and informed me that these scars were the imprint of the teeth of blood-hounds that had been set upon his track after his attempted escape from Andersonville, some months before. He, and his comrades in this dangerous venture were tracked to the heart of a woody swamp several miles away, and were there recaptured while engaged defending themselves from the infuriated animals. His story was confirmed by several of his fellow-prisoners who stood by as he narrated it.

A New Hampshire lad of 19, whose name I cannot now recall, was among the sick on board. Before we left the Savannah river I

discovered him lying upon a heap of canvas on the forward deck. He was wasted and haggard in appearance—a mere skeleton in fact. As I drew near he turned his eyes languidly toward his naked right arm, on the elbow-joint of which I discovered an old sore that had broken out afresh. On examining, I also found sores upon his hips and shoulder-blades, which his friends informed me were occasioned by the heat of the sand in which he had lain for some time at Andersonville. Around these sores, like cattle at a trough, countless body-lice had collected and were feeding upon the matter exuded. I had him taken below, cleansed, clothed and placed upon a comfortable couch; and everything was done for him that could be done under the circumstances. The storm told fearfully on his wasted frame. After the wind went down he rallied somewhat. On the last day of the voyage he talked with me of home, and of his father, and mother, and sister. At his request I wrote a letter informing them that he was on his way north, and hoped soon to reach home. Poor lad! The fatigue of the voyage, and of the ride to camp after landing at Annapolis was more than he could endure. A few hours after our arrival at Annapolis it became my painful duty to add a postscript to my letter, informing those at home that he was dead, and requesting to be informed by telegraph as to what disposition I should make of his remains.

JOHNSON BRIGHAM.

WATKINS, N. Y., March 1, 1876.

THE GRAY BENEATH THE BLUE.

Some one has recently given expression in very musical rhyme to the aversion naturally felt by the veteran Unionist, especially the ex-soldier, at being asked to vote for the men who don the blue in order to hide the gray that they are really clad in and cherish also. These brevet Confederates are numerous, and on the whole the best specimen recently exhumed is Daniel Marcy, recently Democratic candidate for Governor of New Hampshire.

His disloyalty is more pronounced and malignant, but no more dangerous or sincere, than are the opinions held by Mr. Speaker Kerr, who was selected because he is the extremest partisan among Northern Democrats of the pro-Southern State sovereignty dogmas. Mr. Morrison, the Democratic leader of the House, shows his subserviency to the same influences by appointing,

at the bidding of Gordon, the notorious Hambleton to the clerkship of the chief committee of the House. He clenches this subserviency by expunging his Union war record from the Congressional Directory, while Senator Gordon, to show his contemptuous appreciation of the fitness of things, inserts his record as a rebel general, having in a previous Congress had the good taste to withhold the same.

Mr. Marcy is only later, but no meaner, in his Southern proclivities than Representative George M. Beebe, of New York, who, when a fresh-fledged lawyer and politician, went to the Territory of Kansas in quest of fame and fortune. He settled in a Democratic county, and was elected to the Territorial Council. This was in 1860. February 11th he made a minority report against abolishing slavery. The bill was vetoed by Governor

Medary. Mr. Beebe voted to sustain the veto, and was complimented by a Democratic convention for doing so, and on the 7th of May rewarded by President Buchanan with the appointment of Secretary of the Territory. On the 10th of January, 1861, Mr. Beebe, then acting Governor, sent a message to the Territorial Legislature, in which he made the following recommendation: "If God in his wrath shall tolerate the worst portent of this tempest of passion, now so fiercely raging, Kansas ought, and I trust will, declining identification with either branch of a contending family, tendering to each alike the olive offering of good-neighborship, establish under a constitution of her own creation a Government to be separate and free among the nations."

This sort of thing can only be alluded to in the way Victor Hugo makes Cambronne reply to the English demand for the Old Guards' surrender at Waterloo. These be the men, though, that get into power as Democracy re-asserts itself. Look at the record of their candidate in New Hampshire: Daniel Marcy was elected in March, 1863, to Congress from the First New Hampshire district. He took his seat December 7, and on the 9th he gave his first rebel vote in voting against Washburne's resolution approving the Administration for asking to effect an exchange of prisoners. Five days afterward he voted for Fernando Wood's resolution requesting President Lincoln to appoint three commissioners empowered to open negotiations with the authorities at Richmond, to the end that this bloody, destructive, and inhuman war shall cease, and the Union be restored to terms of equity, fraternity, and equality under the Constitution. Three days later he voted for the Edgerton resolution to censure President Lincoln for his Emancipation Proclamation, and for the Harrington resolutions denying the right of the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. On the same day he dodged the vote on two resolutions, one of which declared it to be the duty of Congress to pay all necessary bills to support the war, and the other returned thanks to the Union soldiers for gallantry in the field.

It is not necessary to go through Marcy's record in detail, but an examination of the *Globe* of that period will show that on

December 21, February 1, February 15, March 28, April 8, May 2, June 4, June 6, June 13, June 15, June 29 July 2, during that session of Congress he so acted and voted as to give aid and comfort to armed rebellion. But his most infamous act was on January 18, 1864. On that day Hon. Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, introduced the following:

"Whereas. A most desperate, wicked, and bloody rebellion exists within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the safety and security of personal and national liberty depends upon its absolute and utter extinction: therefore

"Resolved, That it is the political, civil, moral, and sacred duty of the people to meet it, fight it, crush it, and forever destroy it, thereby establishing perfect and unalterable liberty."

The great body of the Democrats voted in the affirmative, but sixteen, among whom was Daniel Marcy, were so wedded to the cause of the rebellion that they voted in the negative. Among his companions were Benjamin G. Harris, of Maryland, and Alexander Long, of Ohio, the first of whom was afterward expelled, and the latter censured for treasonable utterances on the floor of the House.

Marcy made but one speech in Congress and that was on the 14th of June, 1864. Then he said to the Southern rebels that "the great loyal Democratic party would guarantee to them the pure administration of the law of the land; they should enjoy without further molestation their full and equitable rights under the Constitution. If the disloyal abolition party would humble itself in dust and ashes and purge itself from the monstrous iniquities and wash away the stains which disfigure its infamous brow, and swear that from this time henceforth and forever it would never seek to interfere with the administration and regulation of the internal police of the Southern States or of any State, and act with the Democratic party, peace would once more return to bless the land." He also had a decided opinion of President Lincoln, for he said: "I believe the name of the President will go down to posterity along with the deep execrations of all who revere and love the Union as our fathers gave it to us." Is there room or place for such as Marcy? It is not to be believed.

THE LOSS OF LABORERS TO GEORGIA.

The unsatisfactory condition of affairs in many of the Southern States presses hard upon the colored citizens. Especially is this the case in Georgia. It is said that during one week in February last the Western railroad office at Columbus, Georgia, sold 299 tickets to parties bound for the western cotton States—middle and western Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. This makes 3,345 which have been sold from that office since December 1. In addition, 200 have been sold from the Mobile and Girard office, making a total of 3,545 which have left this section, included in a radius of fifty miles in two and a half months. Of this number not 250 were whites. This compilation embraces as many from Alabama as Georgia, as the river is the dividing line between the two States.

If the political leaders in Southern States under Democratic control imagine that they can do without the labor of colored men, what becomes of the argument urged on behalf of slavery that colored labor in the South was a necessity? The wealth of the South, especially in the cotton States, has been built up by colored labor; and now the freedmen are industrious and earn wages, that class of whites which can never look upon a black man without a desire to enslave him, makes his residence so intolerable and dangerous that he prefers to leave the State rather than endure it.

It is high time that the South should cease to be a disturbing element in politics. It is high time that the idea of good citizenship in the South should cease to be different than elsewhere. The "peculiar institution" no longer exists. What reason, then, is there for the existence of that barbaric claim to superiority which is constantly at work to depreciate the colored man, while selfishly securing all the advantages of his labor? The colored man is a citizen; and the Southern white is no more. Both claim their rights on the same ground, and both are the creatures of the law. If the law makes no distinction in the color of a man's skin, it seems strange that the country should be shocked so repeatedly by hearing that one class of citizens in the

South is forced to suffer at the hands of another. The blacks are the victims of the whites, and if the truth be told, have abundant reason to complain. Is there no sense of justice in the South, no sentiment of duty between man and man, that would lead to an adjustment of differences in the interests of peace?

It is quite clear that where there is injustice there can be no prosperity. The white people of the South are injuring themselves whenever they make the colored citizens suffer. As the Southern whites constituted the Slave Power, and kept their slaves ignorant and degraded that they might never be free, now that they are free, one would suppose that their education would have been provided for as a prime necessity. But Democrat leaders do not look with favor upon educating colored men. They prefer to keep the country in hot water by denouncing the blacks as ignorant, thriftless, and idle, and either decline to collect the school tax or spend it on something else if collected. Anything rather than educate. Are not the Southern leaders getting tired of a condition of affairs in their locality which reflects no credit upon them as men or citizens? and is there not sufficient manliness in the South to lead to a change which shall put the colored people at their ease, permit them to exercise the franchise they possess, and earn their wages in peace and quietness?

Centennial.

On the 4th of July, 1776, George Washington was 44 years old; Martha Washington, 43; Sam. Adams, 54; John Adams, 41; Abigail Adams, 32; John Quincy Adams, 9; Thomas Jefferson, 33; Patrick Henry, 40; James Madison, 25; Thomas Paine, 39; James Otis, 51; Fisher Ames, 18; William Pitt, 68; Josiah Quincy, Jr., 32; Nathaniel Greene, 34; Edmund Burke, 46; Jonathan Turnbull, 36; Roger Sherman, 55; Aaron Burr, 20; Benedict Arnold, 36; George Clinton, 37; Alexander Hamilton, 19; Robert R. Livingston, 29; Philip Livingston, 60; Philip Schuyler, 43; Benjamin Franklin, 70; Benjamin Rush, 31; Robert Morris, 42; Charles Carroll, 39; Caesar Rodney, 46; Edward Rutledge, 27; William Moultrie, 45; Horatio Gates, 48; John Rutledge, 37; Thomas Sumter, 42; Charles C. Pinckney, 30; Charles Pinckney, 18; James Monroe, 18; Tim. Pickens, 31; Anthony Wayne, 31; Israel Putnam, 58; Rufus King, 21; John Hancock, 39; Elbridge Gerry, 32; Richard Stockton, 46; George Wythe, 50; Marquis La Fayette, 19; Francis Marion, 44; Henry Knox, 26; Richard Henry Lee, 44; John Jay, 31.

WAS SECESSION TREASON?

Sometimes it is desirable to look back and learn of the past. It is only youthful arrogance and egotism which forbids us doing this. Nations like individuals may learn of their duty, take warning from mistakes, or see where they failed to grasp a situation clearly. In view of recent developments, indicating definitely the intention of the surviving defenders of the late civil war to indict the National Union and its defenders before the bar of public opinion, present and prospective, it is within the compass of fair play to bring out all the facts which will help to make the case. "Ben" Hill, Mr. Lamar, Mr. Tucker, Senators Gordon and Withers, with others, have explicitly declared that in the secession war no treason was committed. They claim to stand before the world; they expect to go down to history as men devoted to a grave principle of government, who solemnly risked all in an attempt to vindicate their principles through the destruction of one government and the foundation of another, more equitable and just in character and conditions. On the other hand, the Union men regard them as "traitors," more or less designed and willful in character; as men who either led or assisted in causeless war, which produced desolation and disaster, filling half a million of untimely graves, and burdening unborn generations with debt and sorrow. Further, it is held that the war was not for the vindication of so-called Constitutional principles, but to defend and arrogate an institution—that of slavery—repugnant to all sense of right and justice, the existence of which made the United States a scorn in the nostrils of the nations, and against which all the forces of civilization had instinctively combined.

To those holding this view, the rebellion of 1861 was nothing less than treason. The Constitution not only defined the crime of the rebellion, but bestowed the power punishing rebels.

Article III, Section 3, says:

"Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or

in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid or comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

"2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted."

In exercising this power Congress passed the act of April 30, 1790, in which it is declared:

"If any person or persons owing allegiance to the United States of America shall levy war against them, or shall adhere to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort, within the United States or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted on confession in open court, or on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act of treason whereof he or they shall stand indicted, such person or persons shall be adjudged guilty of treason against the United States, and shall suffer DEATH.

"If any person or persons having knowledge of the commission of any of the treasons aforesaid shall conceal, and not, as soon as may be, disclose and make known the same to the President of the United States, or some one of the judges thereof, or to the President or Governor of a particular State or some one of the judges or justices thereof, such person or persons, on conviction, shall be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and shall be imprisoned not exceeding seven years, and fined not exceeding one thousand dollars."

Chief Justice Marshall, a name revered by every American as a lover of his country, and who adorned the bench of the highest court in the Union, took occasion in administering the act, thus to interpret it:

"It is not the intention of the Court to say that no individual can be guilty of this crime (treason) who has not appeared in arms against his country.

"On the contrary, if war be actually levied—that is, if a body of men be actually assembled for the purpose of effecting by force a treasonable purpose—all those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who actually leagued in the general conspiracy ARE TO BE CONSIDERED AS TRAITORS."

In view of the wide-spread knowledge of the long prepared and impending rebellion which existed among the Democratic

statesmen, politicians, and party leaders, North as well as South, there can be no doubt that they, too, were guilty of "misprision of treason," as defined by the foregoing law. On the 10th of January, 1861, two resolutions were passed unanimously by the Central Republican Club of the city of New York as the sentiment of the great mass of the people. They were as follows:

"Whereas, a band of traitors in the Cabinet at Washington, in both houses of Congress, and in several of the Southern States of this Republic have made war against the United States; have seized forts, arsenals, and other public property; robbed the Treasury, obstructed the telegraph, and committed other acts of violence, in combination and conspiracy against the people of the United States and their Constitution of Government for the purpose of introducing slavery temporarily or permanently into every State or Territory of this Union: therefore

"Resolved, That the Constitution as it is provides the most perfect system of government known to man; that it needs no amendment, and shall have none at the beak and call of traitors, or their insolent mouthpieces.

"Resolved, That we hold ourselves ready, and tender our services to the State, or the National Government, or both, to aid to the extent of our power in crushing this formidable and wicked rebellion, determined, at

at all hazards, that the Constitution shall be 'preserved, protected, and defended,' peace restored, and the blessings of liberty, of liberty of speech, and the press, fully and amply vindicated and secured."

A week after this, on January 16, 1861, Mr. F. C. Treadwell, of New York, proceeded to Washington to enter formal complaint against a large number of rebels. This complaint, legal and *pro forma* in its nature, was returned by the clerk of the United States Supreme Court, with the message from Judge Taney, not the written indorsement, for that would have been written evidence of his own complicity, as such cases required—that "they were improper papers to be presented to the court." The United States Supreme Court thus acted before the conspirators to give them immunity from arrest. Is it any wonder that President Buchanan hesitated when even the Supreme Bench offered sympathy to treason? By giving no warning of what they knew, the leaders of the Democracy have been guilty of misprision of treason, and have become liable to imprisonment not exceeding seven years, and to the payment of a fine not exceeding \$1,000. This is the penalty of the law for such criminal delinquency.

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ELECTIONS.

The "staff correspondent" of a leading brevet-Democratic journal, with others of the same ilk, were very busy, as soon as it became evident that the Republican party was to be crowned with victory in New Hampshire, at the recent election, is endeavoring to prove that, if so, it must be in the main due to a regular traffic in votes, which it was charged is carried on in the Granite State. To establish this charge, attention was called to the large percentage of votes cast as per population when compared with the electoral totals in other New England States. Reference was also made to the disparity of the sexes, as to numbers, known to exist in New England, as another reason for alleged frauds. The New York *Tribune*, editorially and by "staff" correspondence, gave wide currency to these allegations. In one letter the correspondent makes the following comparison of percentages, which, he states, was made from the "Tribune Almanac," taking in each case

the highest number of votes cast at any election since 1871: "New Hampshire, one voter to 4.02 inhabitants; Connecticut, one voter to 5.32 inhabitants; Vermont, one voter to 5.63 inhabitants; Maine, one voter to 5.68 inhabitants; Massachusetts, one voter to 7.78 inhabitants; Rhode Island, one voter to 9.76 inhabitants." The authority is at fault. A better one was at hand, if a fair statement had been the object. That was the United States Census of 1870. According to that document, whose reliability even the "staff correspondent" will not assail, the total population was in that year 318,300. Of this total the males were 155,640, and the females 162,600. The number of male adults is stated as 91,016; of male citizens (voters) as 83,361. A cursory arithmetical examination will establish that, instead of the voters being, as the "staff correspondent" puts it, at the rate of one in 4.02 of the inhabitants, the ratio is really about the

same fraction less than one in four. The figures prove only this—that in New Hampshire there is less abstention from voting than in any other of the New England States, and, as a matter of fact, less than in any other State in the Union.

Several things tend to produce this result. Foremost among them may be placed the fact that the town-meeting system is maintained most closely therein, and that it keeps up the active and primitive interest of all the citizens. The frequency of elections has very much to do with the large vote, as also has the fact that nearly all offices are elective in character. Again, New Hampshire fosters State pride, by allowing her citizens liberal opportunities for retaining a domicile within her borders. This feeling is encouraged by both political parties, and the young men and others who, for business purposes, &c., are temporarily living elsewhere, do their best, as a rule, to meet the requirement of the State laws and maintain their home citizenship. It is not necessary to argue the wisdom of this policy. There are excellent arguments on both sides. It is only referred to because it is alleged to be a source of corruption. As a matter of fact, the larger proportion of such voters are Republicans. The Democrats are too unenterprising to venture far from their bleak hill-fields, and, when they do, often become converts to broader views.

That the charge of bribery and fraudulent increase of the vote is, in the main, baseless, may be seen from the following table:

Voting population of New Hampshire, according to the United States Census of 1870.....	83,361
Male adults of civic age, not voters, according to the United States Census of 1870.....	7,655

Votes from 1870 to 1876.

	Total.	No. of votes less than total of Census.
1870.....	68,471	14,890
1871.....	69,729	13,632
1872 { Governor.....	76,355	7,006
{ President.....	68,803	14,468
1873.....	67,804	15,557
1874.....	71,861	11,500
1875.....	79,206	4,155
1875—For Congress.....	79,281	4,080
1876.....	80,322	3,039

The political activity and interest felt and manifested in New Hampshire, as compared with that of other New England States, will be readily seen by the following table:

	Total male population, 1876.	Total number of votes, per Census of 1870.	Year.	Highest vote cast from 1870 to 1875, inclusive.	Number less than Census.
Connecticut.....	265,270	127,499	1875	100,966	26,533
Maine.....	313,103	153,160	1872	126,618	26,542
Massachusetts.....	703,779	312,770	1872	192,732	120,038
Rhode Island.....	101,756	43,996	1875	22,258	21,738
Vermont.....	163,721	74,897	1872	58,559	16,338
New Hampshire.....	155,640	83,361	1875	79,281	4,080

The trouble with all the accusations and criticisms indulged in by the so-called "independent" press is that its chief aim is to make "points." It is conducted on the Irishman's idea of the use to which a stick should be put at Donnybrook Fair—that of hitting a head wherever you see it. The idea of a judicial judgment is a farce, and the journalist is a fool who should govern himself by any such standard. In this case the figures show that in New Hampshire political parties do not attempt to manufacture votes, but rather to animate and inspire to duty those citizens who possess or are entitled to the right of suffrage. So successful are they in this that it will be seen that the percentage of abstention from the polls is very much less, in the dullest years, in the Granite State, than it is in any one of the other five embraced in New England. The highest votes from 1870 to 1875 have already been given. The following table gives the lowest votes cast since 1870:

	Year.	Lowest vote since 1870.	No. of votes less than the Census total.
Connecticut.....	1873	86,845	40,654
Maine.....	1873	80,490	72,670
Massachusetts.....	1873	131,543	171,227
New Hampshire.....	1873	67,804	15,557
Rhode Island.....	1873	13,442	30,554
Vermont.....	1870	45,425	29,442

Apart from the special purpose of the foregoing, the recurrence of the lowest vote at certain periods indicates with great clearness, the rule in regard to "off years." Another could be established if the investigation were pushed further, and that is, that in every instance of Democratic victory in the New England States it comes, not as the growth of that party, but as the neglect, indifference, or anger of the Republicans, manifested, in the main, by absence from the polls, or occasionally by the growth of one or more "parasite" parties, such as the Temperance or Labor Reform movements. These merely represent ideas and questions whose germs are in or naturally belong to the great party of National Unity and Universal Liberty.

LABOR AND WAGES IN THE UNITED STATES—
PROTECTION VERSUS FREE TRADE.

There is no other country in the world where labor is paid so liberally as in the United States. By many this is attributed to vastness of territory and sparseness of population. But these conditions apply also to countries where labor is poorly paid, such as Canada, Mexico, and South America. We must find a more substantial cause, and this we have in the American system of protection to home industries, which checks foreign competition and increases the demand for mechanical skill and labor at home. This policy has never been lost sight of—though sometimes thrown in the shade—since the organization of the Government. It was never more popular with the people than at present. It sustained the Government, by providing generous revenues during the trying years of the wicked rebellion and costly civil war. It secured to the industrious populations abundant employment and liberal remuneration up to the year 1872, when, under the pressing demands of a Democratic minority Congress yielded to reductions in the tariff to the extent of \$30,000,000, which reduced our industries from a condition of great prosperity to extreme prostration, and deprived thousands of workmen of employment.

With these facts before them, the Democratic majority in Congress have now under consideration a bill in which another radical reduction in the duties is contemplated, with the view of destroying, as far as it is possible, the protective features of the tariff. It is hoped however that this fatal blow at our industries may be averted, and the country saved from further prostration.

If any changes in the tariff are required they are in the direction of a ten or fifteen per cent. increase in the rates, on certain articles now paying a moderate duty, and by a transfer of other commodities from the free to the dutiable list. Our imports during the last fiscal year of eight classes of dutiable goods amounted in value to \$140,000,000. These were silks, woollens, cottons, linens, leather, iron and steel in their various forms,

and gloves. An increase of 10 per cent. in the duties on these goods would secure their manufacture, to a large extent, at home, and give employment to thousands of now idle workmen and women. Of goods free of duty the last year's importation amounted in value to \$167,180,644. A duty of 10 or 15 per cent. would cause many of the articles included in this free list to be produced at home, and prevent our gold from going abroad to pay for importations of articles we can produce ourselves. If we wish to retain a larger portion of our gold at home we must import fewer goods of foreign manufacture.

But against these heavy importations labor is still better paid in the United States than in England or elsewhere. This is significantly shown in Dr. Edward Young's remarkable book on "Labor and Wages in Europe and America," which is attracting no little attention on both sides of the Atlantic. The *London Times* has given it a critical examination; and, though the editor does not seem pleased at the exposure of the drinking habits and other weaknesses of our English cousins, he fails to discover inaccuracies in the figures showing the rates of wages, cost of provisions, clothing, and house rent in that country. The work is commended as a remarkable compilation of valuable statistics.

In the United States it has been generally indorsed by statesmen and journalists. Based upon its statistical tables, the following figures, showing the average rates of wages paid in the United States, may be accepted as reliable. They afford, in compact form, a large amount of valuable information. Examined in connection with the statistical tables summarized from the same work and published in the January number of *THE REPUBLIC*, they will show at a glance the wide differences in amount between the wages paid in the two countries, England and America. The first two tables treat of mechanical, and the third of farm labor, and embrace the entire range of the Union:

MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages, without board, paid in the several States and Territories to persons employed in the under-mentioned trades in the respective years 1880 and 1874.

STATES.	Black-smiths.		Brick-layers or masons.		Cabinet-makers.		Coop-ers.		Carpen-ters.		Paint-ers.		Plaster-ers.	
	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.														
Maine.....	\$1 97	\$2 37	\$2 30	\$3 50	\$1 88	\$2 12	\$1 74	\$2 12	\$2 00	\$2 75	\$1 92	\$2 50	\$2 27	\$3 50
New Hampshire.....	2 08	3 44	2 50	3 87	1 63	3 00	1 75	2 67	1 75	2 94	1 75	2 75	2 00	3 69
Vermont.....	2 21	2 88	2 63	2 75	2 19	2 88	2 13	2 75	2 05	3 00	2 04	2 62	2 65	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 91	2 83	2 42	3 67	2 00	3 16	2 25	2 37	1 98	3 02	1 94	2 83	2 42	3 33
Rhode Island.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....
Connecticut.....	1 67	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 67	.....	1 92	.....
MIDDLE STATES.														
New York.....	1 66	2 64	2 02	3 23	1 77	2 55	1 64	2 19	1 74	2 65	1 77	2 63	2 11	3 07
New Jersey.....	1 48	2 96	1 58	3 34	1 32	2 65	1 34	3 00	1 60	2 75	1 75	2 92	1 84	3 17
Pennsylvania.....	1 47	2 32	1 82	2 89	1 32	2 91	1 31	2 22	1 59	2 37	1 83	2 42	1 76	2 74
Delaware.....	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 50	1 50	3 00	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 75
Maryland.....	1 50	2 50	1 50	4 00	2 50	3 00	1 50	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 50	3 00	2 00	3 25
West Virginia.....	1 69	2 50	2 06	2 95	1 66	2 81	1 53	2 19	1 73	2 50	1 84	2 40	2 08	2 58
WESTERN STATES.														
Ohio.....	1 75	2 30	2 18	3 06	1 99	2 24	1 58	2 12	1 78	2 33	1 94	2 29	2 08	2 64
Indiana.....	1 93	2 00	2 60	3 25	1 84	2 62	1 62	2 25	1 83	2 33	1 96	2 37	2 33	3 00
Illinois.....	2 02	2 81	2 73	3 69	1 97	2 83	2 00	2 75	2 03	2 87	2 02	2 56	2 49	3 38
Michigan.....	2 10	.....	2 41	.....	1 88	.....	1 70	2 50	1 90	.....	1 90	.....	2 30	.....
Wisconsin.....	2 28	2 50	2 54	3 00	2 01	2 00	2 03	2 00	2 13	2 50	2 08	2 75	2 49	4 00
Minnesota.....	1 90	3 00	2 41	3 00	1 96	2 50	1 86	3 00	1 89	2 50	1 96	3 00	2 33	3 00
Iowa.....	2 17	2 50	2 47	3 50	2 10	2 50	1 95	.....	2 01	3 00	1 93	2 50	2 47	3 00
Kansas.....	2 69	.....	3 17	.....	3 00	.....	2 88	.....	2 75	.....	2 55	.....	2 69	.....
Nebraska.....	2 50	.....	3 50	.....	2 50	.....	.....	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	4 00	.....
Missouri.....	2 03	3 50	2 71	4 00	2 10	3 00	2 00	2 50	2 05	3 00	2 46	3 00	2 71	3 50
Kentucky.....	2 03	2 63	2 68	3 50	1 84	2 75	1 88	2 90	2 28	3 20	2 17	2 90	2 37	3 10
SOUTHERN STATES.														
Virginia.....	1 40	2 20	1 75	2 00	1 68	1 88	1 55	1 63	1 74	1 70	1 80	1 63	1 71	2 00
North Carolina.....	1 50	2 50	1 83	3 00	1 50	2 50	1 00	.....	1 50	2 75	1 50	3 00	1 67	3 00
South Carolina.....	1 67	2 50	1 71	2 50	2 17	.....	1 50	.....	1 90	2 50	1 85	2 50	1 90	2 50
Georgia.....	1 88	3 00	2 58	2 50	2 08	2 75	1 44	3 00	2 13	2 75	2 13	2 75	1 94	2 50
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 30	.....	2 25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Louisiana.....	2 70	4 00	2 60	3 50	2 12	2 50	2 50	3 00	2 70	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	3 00
Texas.....	2 68	3 00	3 33	3 75	3 50	2 50	2 37	.....	2 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 87	3 50
Mississippi.....	2 50	3 00	2 94	3 00	2 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 12	2 50	2 00	.....	3 50	3 00
Arkansas.....	2 60	3 50	2 83	4 50	2 71	3 00	2 25	3 00	2 41	3 00	2 42	3 00	2 67	3 00
Tennessee.....	2 63	3 25	2 28	4 08	2 29	2 83	1 78	2 50	2 29	2 75	2 36	2 83	2 32	3 16
PACIFIC STATES.														
California.....	4 22	3 00	4 96	5 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	.....	3 95	3 00	4 06	4 00	4 75	5 00
Nevada.....	6 80	6 00	6 80	6 00	6 88	.....	.....	.....	7 00	6 00	7 80	5 00	7 80	6 00
Oregon.....	4 50	5 00	5 42	5 00	4 41	4 00	4 12	4 00	4 50	4 00	4 34	4 50	5 60	5 00
TERRITORIES.														
Washington.....	8 50	4 00	8 00	3 00	6 00	3 00	5 00	3 00	6 00	4 50	6 00	5 00	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	5 25	.....	6 50	.....	4 87	.....	.....	.....	4 38	.....	4 37	.....	5 87	.....
Dakota.....	2 25	3 50	3 25	3 50	.....	3 00	.....	.....	3 25	2 50	2 50	3 00	3 00	3 50
Idaho.....	.....	3 75	.....	5 50	.....	5 50	.....	.....	.....	5 00	.....	5 00	.....	6 00
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	5 00	.....	4 00	.....	.....	5 00	.....	4 00	.....	5 00	.....
New Mexico.....	2 50	3 75	3 00	4 00	2 50	2 75	3 00	.....	3 00	4 25	3 00	3 50	4 00	3 00
AVERAGES.														
New England States.....	1 89	2 88	2 27	3 45	1 91	2 79	1 90	2 48	1 83	2 93	1 80	2 67	2 17	3 38
Middle States.....	1 55	2 65	1 83	3 32	1 68	2 82	1 46	2 43	1 61	2 59	1 70	2 73	1 97	3 09
Western States.....	2 13	2 96	2 67	3 37	2 11	2 56	1 95	2 50	2 10	2 72	2 13	2 67	2 57	3 23
Southern States.....	2 12	2 79	2 41	3 20	2 31	2 95	1 93	2 63	2 13	2 52	2 16	2 59	2 37	2 85
General average.....	1 92	2 79	2 30	3 33	2 00	2 78	1 82	2 51	1 92	2 69	1 95	2 66	2 27	3 14
Pacific States (gold).....	5 17	4 67	5 73	5 50	5 01	3 50	4 06	4 40	5 15	4 83	5 40	4 60	6 65	5 33
Territories (gold).....	4 63	3 80	5 19	4 60	4 46	3 65	4 00	3 00	4 16	4 25	3 97	4 00	4 72	4 50
Average.....	4 90	4 23	5 46	5 05	4 74	3 57	4 03	3 50	4 66	4 29	4 69	4 25	5 39	4 91

*Piecework.

MECHANICAL LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid, &c.—Continued.

STATES.	Shoe-makers.		Stone-cutters.		Tailors.		Tanners.		Tin-smiths.		Wheel-wrights.	
	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.	1880.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 70	\$2 50	\$2 32	\$3 50	\$1 80	\$3 50	\$2 00	\$2 50	\$1 82	\$2 25	\$1 80	\$2 50
New Hampshire.....	1 84	2 50	2 12	3 75	1 75	3 75	1 80	3 25	1 50	3 19	1 75	3 12
Vermont.....	1 44	2 50	2 25	3 00	1 65	2 50	1 70	2 75	1 88	2 88	1 83	3 00
Massachusetts.....	1 72	2 25	2 50	3 94	1 80	2 37	1 94	2 38	1 85	3 05	2 01	2 37
Rhode Island.....	.....	.....	2 00	.....	2 00	.....	1 50	.....	1 75	.....	2 00	.....
Connecticut.....	1 37	.....	2 13	.....	1 37	.....	2 00	.....	1 67	.....	1 50	.....
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	1 52	2 35	2 17	3 15	1 66	2 26	1 71	2 22	1 74	2 52	1 90	2 95
New Jersey.....	1 83	1 96	1 92	3 00	1 92	2 25	1 59	2 08	1 33	2 50	1 35	2 30
Pennsylvania.....	1 35	1 78	2 01	2 28	1 34	2 14	1 40	2 05	1 37	2 15	1 59	1 92
Delaware.....	(*)	2 00	1 50	2 00	(*)	2 50	1 50	2 00	.....	2 50	.....	2 50
Maryland.....	2 00	2 50	2 00	3 50	.....	1 75	2 00	1 50	2 00	2 25	2 00	2 50
West Virginia.....	1 57	3 62	2 18	3 23	1 42	2 72	1 50	2 44	1 75	2 38	1 86	2 75
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	1 59	2 08	2 28	2 89	1 59	2 30	1 74	2 16	1 72	2 00	1 96	2 38
Indiana.....	1 64	2 25	2 25	3 08	1 76	1 92	1 61	2 08	1 00	2 17	1 06	2 21
Illinois.....	1 98	2 31	2 40	3 50	1 80	2 33	1 95	2 50	2 01	2 25	2 25	3 75
Michigan.....	1 54	.....	2 25	.....	1 69	.....	1 79	.....	1 79	.....	2 08	.....
Wisconsin.....	3 13	1 25	2 75	4 00	2 30	1 50	2 36	2 00	2 24	2 50	2 23	2 00
Minnesota.....	1 85	2 50	2 43	3 00	1 64	2 50	1 93	.....	1 54	2 50	1 78	.....
Iowa.....	1 85	1 50	2 30	3 00	1 95	1 75	2 00	.....	1 86	2 00	2 51	2 50
Kansas.....	2 12	.....	3 25	.....	3 25	.....	2 50	.....	2 17	.....	2 50	.....
Nebraska.....	2 00	.....	2 75	.....	2 75	.....	.....	.....	2 87	.....	2 88	.....
Missouri.....	2 00	2 50	2 92	3 50	2 10	2 50	2 00	2 00	2 17	2 75	2 35	2 75
Kentucky.....	1 96	2 50	2 65	3 10	2 13	2 95	1 83	2 75	2 00	2 25	2 15	3 33
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	1 44	1 58	2 00	3 38	1 74	2 00	1 67	1 75	1 66	1 75	1 61	2 20
North Carolina.....	1 06	3 00	1 58	.....	1 25	3 00	1 17	.....	2 00	2 75	1 58	2 50
South Carolina.....	1 88	2 50	2 67	2 50	2 10	2 50	2 38	.....	1 65	2 50	2 15	2 00
Georgia.....	1 75	2 50	2 18	3 50	2 00	3 50	2 50	.....	2 27	2 50	2 28	2 75
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	2 00	.....	3 50	.....	1 94	.....	2 50	.....	2 50	.....	2 42	.....
Louisiana.....	1 90	2 00	3 50	2 00	2 12	2 00	.....	2 50	2 38	2 50	2 50	2 50
Texas.....	2 33	.....	3 17	3 75	1 92	.....	3 12	.....	2 50	2 75	1 75	.....
Mississippi.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 50	.....	1 80	.....	3 00	.....
Arkansas.....	2 08	2 00	2 42	5 00	1 83	3 00	1 90	.....	2 17	4 00	2 17	.....
Tennessee.....	2 20	2 33	2 53	3 42	2 03	3 22	1 75	2 50	1 75	2 62	1 85	2 50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	3 88	.....	4 95	5 00	3 60	.....	4 00	.....	4 04	3 00	4 75	.....
Nevada.....	5 88	4 00	7 00	6 00	6 00	3 00	5 60	.....	6 00	5 00	8 75	7 00
Oregon.....	3 95	3 50	5 40	5 00	3 80	3 50	4 10	4 00	4 25	4 50	4 67	5 00
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	5 00	.....	6 00	5 00	.....	3 00	.....	8 00	6 00	2 50	6 00	5 00
Colorado.....	4 00	.....	5 87	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	4 50	.....	5 00	.....
Dakota.....	3 50	3 00	.....	.....	.....	3 00	3 00	.....	.....	3 00	.....	3 00
Idaho.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 25	.....	5 50
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	4 00	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	.....	2 50	4 00	3 00	.....	3 50	.....	.....	.....	5 50	.....	5 00
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 61	2 44	2 22	3 55	1 74	3 03	1 84	2 72	1 75	2 84	1 82	2 75
Middle States.....	1 65	2 20	1 96	2 86	1 59	2 27	1 62	2 05	1 64	2 38	1 74	2 49
Western States.....	1 97	2 11	2 69	3 26	2 09	2 22	1 97	2 25	2 02	2 30	2 24	2 70
Southern States.....	1 81	2 27	2 51	3 36	1 84	2 75	2 06	2 25	2 07	2 67	2 14	2 42
General average.....	1 76	2 25	2 35	3 26	1 82	2 57	1 87	2 32	1 87	2 55	1 99	2 59
Pacific States (gold).....	4 57	3 75	5 78	5 33	4 47	3 25	4 57	4 00	4 76	4 17	6 06	6 00
Territories (gold).....	4 17	3 44	5 29	5 25	4 00	3 37	3 00	3 00	5 25	3 70	5 50	4 30
Average.....	4 37	3 59	5 54	5 29	4 24	3 31	3 78	3 50	5 00	3 93	5 78	5 15

*Piecework.

FARM LABOR.

Table showing the average daily wages paid for Farm Labor in 1860 and 1874.

STATES.	Experienced hands. Summer.				Experienced hands. Winter.				Ordinary hands. Summer.			
	With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.		With board.		Without board.	
	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.	1860.	1874.
NEW ENGLAND STATES.												
Maine.....	\$1 07	.....	\$1 49	.....	\$0 81	.....	\$1 09	.....	\$0 94	.....	\$1 10	.....
New Hampshire.....	1 04	\$1 75	1 38	\$2 25	75	\$1 00	1 06	\$1 50	88	\$1 25	1 25	\$1 69
Vermont.....	94	1 44	1 13	2 12	72	1 06	1 00	1 62	75	1 00	1 01	1 62
Massachusetts.....	1 06	1 50	1 40	1 87	73	1 05	1 05	1 50	79	87	1 13	1 50
Rhode Island.....	75	.....	1 00	.....	42	.....	75	.....	50	.....	83	.....
Connecticut.....	1 13	1 25	.....	1 50	75	1 00	.....	1 50	1 00	1 00	.....	1 50
MIDDLE STATES.												
New York.....	89	1 48	1 21	2 00	67	96	90	1 48	68	1 18	99	1 71
New Jersey.....	79	1 65	1 16	2 00	54	1 00	85	1 42	73	1 13	1 09	1 58
Pennsylvania.....	84	1 13	1 22	1 57	62	84	94	1 25	63	89	95	1 25
Delaware.....	75	1 00	.....	1 25	50	75	.....	1 00	50	88	.....	1 00
Maryland.....	38	.....	63	.....	25	.....	50	.....	38	.....	62	.....
West Virginia.....	77	1 03	95	1 46	61	74	86	1 15	52	64	76	93
WESTERN STATES.												
Ohio.....	89	1 03	1 16	1 48	65	90	92	1 25	68	82	96	1 07
Indiana.....	96	1 13	1 20	1 47	71	86	99	1 11	71	84	96	1 23
Illinois.....	1 02	1 33	1 32	1 68	75	97	1 00	1 39	78	1 05	1 06	1 43
Michigan.....	93	1 25	1 22	1 75	70	1 25	1 05	1 75	73	1 00	1 02	1 40
Wisconsin.....	1 27	.....	1 66	.....	83	.....	1 20	.....	1 01	.....	1 41	.....
Minnesota.....	1 42	1 00	1 73	1 50	88	75	1 14	1 25	1 10	75	1 38	1 00
Iowa.....	1 06	78	1 34	.....	70	78	1 00	.....	76	70	1 01	.....
Kansas.....	1 25	.....	1 75	.....	1 15	.....	2 37	.....	1 08	.....	1 50	.....
Nebraska.....	1 00	.....	1 38	.....	75	.....	1 25	.....	1 00	.....	1 25	.....
Missouri.....	81	1 50	1 12	.....	69	1 00	99	.....	67	1 00	93	.....
Kentucky.....	77	.....	1 08	.....	60	.....	90	.....	64	.....	89	.....
SOUTHERN STATES.												
Virginia.....	60	64	1 02	80	47	47	69	67	52	54	66	76
North Carolina.....	60	1 00	63	1 25	36	75	52	.....	33	.....	47	.....
South Carolina.....	53	1 00	73	1 25	40	75	60	1 00	34	75	58	1 50
Georgia.....	55	.....	81	.....	50	.....	71	.....	47	.....	68	.....
Florida.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Alabama.....	63	75	88	1 00	55	50	80	75	47	75	70	1 00
Mississippi.....	60	75	75	1 00	52	.....	60	.....	48	50	81	75
Louisiana.....	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	1 00	65	1 25	1 05	.....	75	.....	1 25
Texas.....	66	87	1 00	1 25	58	75	81	1 00	54	50	75	75
Arkansas.....	75	.....	1 03	.....	63	.....	92	.....	55	.....	81	.....
Tennessee.....	74	.....	97	.....	55	.....	75	.....	51	.....	71	50
PACIFIC STATES.												
California.....	2 07	1 50	2 50	2 50	1 39	1 00	2 13	2 50	2 00	1 00	2 17	2 00
Nevada.....	3 50	2 50	5 00	3 50	3 50	2 50	5 60	3 50	3 00	1 50	4 00	2 50
Oregon.....	2 14	1 00	2 50	1 60	1 51	1 25	1 94	2 00	1 61	1 00	1 88	1 60
TERRITORIES.												
Washington.....	3 12	2 25	4 12	.....	2 25	1 50	3 00	.....	2 25	.....	2 75	.....
Colorado.....	2 17	.....	2 83	.....	1 50	.....	2 00	.....	1 75	.....	2 75	.....
Dakota.....	1 50	1 00	2 00	1 25	1 25	75	1 50	1 00	1 25	.....	1 50	.....
Idaho.....	.....	1 50	.....	2 12	.....	1 12	.....	1 25	.....	1 25	.....	1 75
Arizona.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Montana.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New Mexico.....	75	1 00	1 13	2 50	50	1 00	1 00	1 50	60	1 25	1 00	1 75
AVERAGES.												
New England States.....	1 00	1 48	1 28	1 93	70	1 03	99	1 53	81	1 02	1 07	1 58
Middle States.....	74	1 38	1 03	1 66	53	86	81	1 26	57	95	88	1 30
Western States.....	1 03	1 15	1 37	1 58	77	93	1 17	1 35	83	88	1 12	.....
Southern States.....	67	81	91	1 09	56	69	77	89	47	63	69	.....
General average.....	86	1 17	1 15	1 56	64	88	94	1 26	67	87	94	.....
Pacific States.....	2 57	1 67	3 53	2 59	2 19	1 58	3 22	2 67	2 20	1 17	2 68	.....
Territories.....	1 89	1 44	2 52	1 95	1 38	1 09	1 88	1 25	1 46	1 25	2 00	.....
Average.....	2 25	1 55	3 03	2 19	1 76	1 33	2 55	1 96	1 83	1 21	2 34	.....

AVERAGE WAGES IN COTTON MILLS.

The average weekly wages paid in cotton mills varies somewhat in the different States. By grouping the States in three divisions, viz: New England, Middle, and Southern—the latter including Missouri—we have the following results as the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	In New England States.	In the Middle States.	In Southern States.
Carding:			
Overseer.....	\$19 38	\$14 00	\$19 28
Picker tenders.....	7 38	6 82	6 19
Railway tenders.....	5 13	3 75	3 67
Drawing-frame tenders.....	4 56	4 82	3 89
Speeder tenders.....	6 70	5 13	4 29
Picker boy.....	5 19	3 25	3 75
Grinders.....	9 69	7 38	7 14
Strippers.....	7 18	6 75	5 87
Spinning:			
Overseer.....	20 18	13 25	18 75
Mule spinners.....	9 99	7 75	9 90
Mule backside piecers.....	2 65	2 75	3 01
Frame spinners.....	4 51	3 25	3 20
Dressing:			
Overseer.....	18 35	15 00	14 69
Second hand.....	12 17	10 50	7 68
Spoolers.....	4 58	4 33	4 25
Warpers.....	6 37	6 25	5 53
Drawers and Twisters.....	5 81	6 50	4 66
Dressers.....	12 06	9 00	8 88
Weaving:			
Overseer.....	20 97	16 50	20 09
Weavers.....	8 05	8 38	6 17
Drawing-in hands.....	6 95	5 00	4 32
Repair shop, &c.:			
Foreman.....	19 57	15 00	23 00
Wood-workers.....	14 99	14 25	11 33
Iron-workers.....	14 01	13 88	14 94
Engineer.....	15 07	11 75	18 00
Laborers.....	8 56	8 80	6 01
Overseer in cloth room.....	15 13	8 50	14 13

BOOT AND SHOE FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cutters.....	\$21 37
Stock-fitters.....	16 62
Sole sewing machine operators.....	16 33
Other sewing machine operators.....	14 00
Lasters.....	18 83
Second lasters.....	17 00
Heelers.....	23 25
Trimmers.....	19 33
Burnishers.....	18 83
Finishers.....	19 50
Hand-sewers.....	27 50
Shoe-cleaners.....	18 25
Packers.....	16 00
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	18 50
Apprentices or boys.....	7 00
Foremen or overseers.....	27 50
Crimpers.....	
Treeers.....	
Bottomers.....	

GENERAL AVERAGE WAGES IN WOOLEN MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid in woolen mills in 1869 and 1874:

Occupation.	1869.	1874.
Wool-sorters.....	\$10 86	\$10 94
Wool-washers.....	8 26	8 21
Dyers.....	11 38	10 50
Overseers.....	18 44	19 17
Carding and spinning:		
Pickers.....	7 03	6 68
Carders.....	6 07	6 34
Spinners.....	11 20	8 85
Warpers and beamers.....	8 77	8 81
Reelers.....	4 61	5 20
Overseers.....	18 46	15 94
Assistants.....	9 75	
Weaving:		
Weavers.....	7 88	7 41
Burlers.....	4 92	4 98
Overseers.....	16 10	17 40
Dressing and finishing:		
Fullers.....	8 77	8 76
Dressers or giggers.....	8 08	8 11
Finishers.....	9 71	8 42
Press tenders.....	9 21	8 91
Drawers.....	6 12	6 91
Brushers.....	5 12	6 69
Packers.....	9 02	8 57
Overseers.....	17 62	19 14
Assistants.....	10 36	9 72
Engine room, yard, &c.:		
Engineers.....	12 64	12 34
Mechanics.....	15 13	15 12
Laborers, (watchmen included).....	9 88	10 73
Foremen.....	13 62	19 05

WEEKLY WAGES PAID IN ROLLING MILLS.

The following table shows the general average weekly earnings of workmen employed in iron-rolling mills in the United States in 1874:

Occupation.	Per week.
Puddlers.....	\$28 44
Puddlers' helpers.....	11 83
Shinglers.....	20 91
Shinglers' helpers.....	10 70
Puddle-mill roller.....	18 50
Top and bottom roller.....	29 10
Forge rollers.....	17 80
Merchant-mill rollers.....	34 86
Rail-mill rollers.....	33 92
Sheet and plate rollers.....	26 10
Second rollers.....	24 13
Third rollers.....	18 00
Furnace men or heaters' helpers.....	12 47
Shearmen.....	12 67
Billeters.....	8 92
Catchers.....	15 43
Roughers.....	21 23
Heaters.....	29 51
Foremen or superintendents.....	29 25
Machinists.....	18 15
Engineers.....	17 15
Carpenters.....	17 32
Blacksmiths.....	17 40
Laborers and unskilled workmen.....	9 50
Teamsters.....	9 67
Apprentices and boys.....	4 82
Hours of labor.....	57 13-16

IRON FOUNDRIES AND MACHINE SHOPS.

The following table indicates the average rate of weekly wages paid in iron foundries

and machine shops in the several groups of States, and also the general average of all the States, in 1874:

Occupation.	Average in New England States.	Average in the Middle States.	Average in the Southern States.	Average in the Pacific States.	General average of the United States.
Iron molders.....	\$15 69	\$14 98	\$17 88	\$31 50	\$19 04
Machinists, (best).....	16 66	16 24	19 28	34 00	20 63
Machinists, (ordinary).....	13 45	13 50	14 19	27 12	16 37
Machinists, (inferior).....	10 96	10 80	14 00	18 50	12 27
Machinists' helpers.....	9 16	8 42	8 34	18 75	10 80
Boiler makers.....	21 25	15 44	19 42	26 25	19 87
Helpers.....	8 69	9 05	8 96	17 25	11 00
Riveters.....	15 00	14 63	16 17	24 58	17 20
Helpers.....	10 63	9 22	9 64	18 00	11 99
Flangers.....	20 00	16 50	19 07	25 50	20 07
Helpers.....	9 88	9 42	9 93	15 00	10 92
Blacksmiths.....	16 17	14 91	17 45	30 88	19 25
Helpers.....	10 21	8 86	19 28	18 63	11 41
Foremen.....	22 16	23 12	26 85	42 83	27 75
Engineers.....	14 43	13 04	16 34	23 78	16 05
Pattern makers.....	16 61	14 90	17 32	31 43	19 40
Assistants.....	11 47	10 97	11 28	25 75	13 76
Laborers, carters.....	9 53	9 49	8 02	18 44	10 98
Apprentices.....	6 07	4 75	5 00	12 92	6 98
Millwrights.....	17 87	16 37	22 96	36 00	22 58
Assistants.....	8 00	8 00	15 40	19 50	14 48
Brass founders.....	16 75	13 64	18 17	33 00	19 31
Fitters.....	9 00	14 52	17 10	35 75	18 62
Turners.....	14 00	13 40	17 00	31 33	17 98
Hours of labor per week.....	59¼	59 3-5	58½	60	59 3-10

MANUFACTURE OF CLOTHING.

The following were the general average weekly earnings of persons employed in the manufacture of clothing throughout the States in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Head cutters for custom clothing.....	\$28 34
Cutters for ready-made clothing.....	15 08
Bushermen.....	15 57
Machine operators.....	9 76
Finishers.....	11 22
Laborers or packers.....	10 66
Apprentices or boys.....	4 75
Ready-made clothing:	
On sack overcoats. { Fine.....	10 33
{ Cheap.....	9 33
Broadcloth frock coats.....	10 00
Cassimere business coats.....	9 33
Cassimere sack coats.....	8 92
Vests, woolen.....	4 44
Pantaloon, woolen.....	4 83
Shirts. { Muslin.....	3 50
{ Woolen.....	3 00
- Custom-made clothing:	
Sack overcoats.....	22 25
Broadcloth dress coats.....	20 38
Cassimere business coats.....	20 62
Cassimere sack coats.....	18 87
Vests.....	12 62
Pantaloon.....	15 69

MANUFACTURE OF LEATHER.

The following table shows the general average weekly wages paid to persons employed in the manufacture of the various kinds of leather in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Sole leather:	
Tanners.....	\$13 28
Beam hands.....	12 75
Yard.....	9 98
Rollers and spongers.....	13 16
Bark grinders.....	9 00
Common laborers.....	9 15
Upper leather and calf-skin:	
Tanners.....	13 00
Curriers.....	15 40
Splitters.....	14 70
Shavers.....	17 83
Table hands, scourers.....	11 50
Blackers.....	12 18
Finishers.....	15 06
Morocco, patent, and enameled leather:	
Tanners.....	12 50
Beam hands.....	14 50
Shavers.....	17 25
Sewing girls.....	6 50
Finishers.....	18 25
Colorers.....	17 25
Sheep-skins, skivers, &c.:	
Engineers.....	12 27
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	9 46
Apprentices or boys.....	4 73
Foremen or overseers.....	16 85

MANUFACTURE OF FURNITURE.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Cabinet makers.....	\$15 45
Chair makers.....	11 00
Carvers.....	16 50
Turners.....	13 50
Painters.....	10 00
Upholsters.....	17 50
Varnishers.....	13 50
Scroll sawyers.....	12 16
Laborers or unskilled workmen.....	11 95
Apprentices or boys.....	16 00
Foremen or overseers.....	25 00

CARRIAGE AND CAR FACTORIES.

The following were the average weekly wages paid in 1874:

Occupation.	Average.
Body makers.....	\$18 46
Carriage-part makers.....	16 70
Wheelwrights.....	16 33
Coachsmiths.....	17 50
Helpers.....	9 50
Finishers.....	15 55
Ornamenters.....	19 75
Painters.....	14 65
Trimmers.....	16 66
Stitchers.....	13 16
Engineers.....	27 00
Laborers.....	8 33
Apprentices.....	4 28
Foremen.....	22 66
Car builders:	
Wood-workers.....	13 75
Blacksmiths.....	16 33
Helpers.....	6 50
Painters.....	14 25
Hours of labor per week.....	.....

FORGE AND BESSEMER PIG-IRON WORKS.

The following table shows the average weekly wages of persons employed in the Neutral Foundry (forge and Bessemer pig-iron) in Harrisburg, Pa.:

Occupation.	Wages.
Clerk.....	\$12 00
Foreman or founder.....	28 00
Engineer.....	17 36
Engineer's assistant.....	11 97
Blacksmith.....	12 12
Carpenter.....	12 18
Keepers.....	11 98
Keepers' helpers.....	10 07
Fillers and cinder-men.....	9 48
Iron-weigher.....	10 15
Carters.....	7 55
Laborers.....	7 36
Conductors on ore-trains.....	9 72

PRINTING OFFICES.

The following table shows the rates of weekly earnings, also the price per 1,000 ems, paid to compositors in printing offices in the following named cities in the year 1875:

Cities.	Weekly wages.	Per 1,000 ems—			
		On bookwk.	On morning papers.	On evening papers.	
	Dollars.	Cts.	Cts.	Cts.	
Albany, N. Y.....	18	50	(a)	(b)	
Annapolis, Md.....	15	50			
Baltimore, Md.....	18	e55	50	50	
Boston, Mass.....	15 to 20	45	45	40	
Buffalo, N. Y.....	15	49	38	35	
Cambridge, Mass.....	18	d45			
Charleston, S. C.....	20	50	50		
Chicago, Ill.....	21	50	47	50	
Cincinnati, O.....	21		45	42	
Cleveland, O.....	15	e40	40	37½	
Columbia, S. C.....			50	50	
Columbus, O.....	16		40	37½	
Dayton, O.....	16		40	40	
*Denver, Col.....	25	55	55	50	
Des Moines, Iowa.....	15	35	35	35	
Detroit, Mich.....	16	40	40	35	
Harrisburg, Pa.....	15		35	35	
Hartford, Conn.....	18 to 20	40	45	40	
Indianapolis, Ind.....	18		45	40	
Jackson, Miss.....	27		65	65	
Jersey City, N. J.....	18		45	45	
Kansas City, Mo.....	18		45	40	
Little Rock, Ark.....	25	60	69	55	
Louisville, Ky.....	21		50	50	
Memphis, Tenn.....	25		60	60	
Milwaukee, Wis.....	15 to 18		40	35	
Mobile, Ala.....	24		60	60	
Montgomery, Ala.....	22½	45	40	40	
Nashville, Tenn.....	20	50	50		
Newark, N. J.....	18		45	40	
New Orleans, La.....	20		50	50	
New York, N. Y.....	20	f50	50	45	
Philadelphia, Pa.....	18	g50	50	48	
Pittsburg, Pa.....	15		45	45	
Portland, Me.....	14 to 18		35	30	
Providence, R. I.....	14	33	42	38	
Raleigh, N. C.....	18		50	50	
Richmond, Va.....	20	50	50	50	
Rochester, N. Y.....	14 to 18		35	35	
Salt Lake City.....	24		50	50	
*San Francisco, Cal.....	30	60	69	69	
Savannah, Ga.....			50	50	
Scranton, Pa.....	15		35	33½	
St. Louis, Mo.....	20	45	45	45	
Syracuse, N. Y.....	15		35	32	
Topeka, Kan.....	19		40	40	
Troy, N. Y.....	18		45	40	
Utica, N. Y.....	14	38	40	36	
Washington, D. C.....	24	60	60	60	
Wilmington, Del.....	12 to 18	35	35	35	

(a) \$18 per week.

(b) \$17 per week.

(c) 50 cents for reprint.

(d) 43 cents for reprint.

(e) 37½ cents for reprint.

(f) 47 cents for reprint.

(g) 48 cents for reprint.

(*) Gold prices.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS.

From the preceding tables the reader will be enabled to gather correct information showing the general average of wages paid for farm, mechanical, and factory labor in the United States. In *THE REPUBLIC* for January a series of tables were published showing similar results in England. The tables in both cases are based on the larger and more complete statements presented in Dr. Young's recent work on "Labor and Wages in England and America." By a careful comparison the reader will see that, when reduced to a gold basis, the wages paid in the United States vary from fifty to one hundred per cent. above the amounts paid for similar work in England. For example, we find that the wool-sorter in Bradford receives \$6.77 per week; in the United States \$10.91. A wool-washer \$5.08, against \$8.97 in this country. For drawing and spinning wool the wages are \$9.07 in Bradford, against \$18.61 here. The weaver receives \$7 25 in England, against \$9.84 in this country, while the overseer has only \$7.56, against \$18.05 in the United States. In woman's labor, in woolen mills, there is an equal advantage in this country, the American factory hand usually receiving double what the English woman can earn. And the result shows about the same difference in the wages paid in the respective countries indicated through the entire range of industries.

PURCHASING POWER OF WAGES IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.

In order, however, to complete the comparison, the cost of provisions, clothing, rents, &c., must be taken into consideration. By referring to Dr. Young's work for data, which, for want of space, has been omitted in the *REPUBLIC* articles, significant results are obtained. On comparing two manufacturing centers, such as Bradford, England, and the leading towns of Pennsylvania, in the United States, the values in all cases being expressed in gold, it will be found that the laborer in Bradford in 1874 paid \$7.35 for his barrel of flour; in Pennsylvania \$7 for the same quality. The Englishman's beef for roasting cost him 21 to 24 cents per pound, the American's 17; the English veal, the best cuts, was 24 cents, American, 18. English

leg of mutton 24 cents, American, 16 cents. The great stand-by of the laborer, corned or salted pork, was 16 to 20 cents in Bradford. 13½ in Pennsylvania. Butter was 35 to 38 cents for the English laborer, 35½ for the American. Milk and eggs were about the same in the two countries.

In the above and other articles of provisions the American workman has a very considerable advantage. In the cost of groceries he is not so fortunate. The Englishman's Oolong tea costs him from 36 to 80 cents, the Americans 40 to 90; green Rio coffee is only 16 to 20 cents in Bradford and 26½ in Pennsylvania. Good brown sugar costs the Englishman 7 to 8 cents, the American 9½. Coal is more expensive in Pennsylvania than in the English manufacturing town, being \$5.60 per ton in the former and \$4.38 in the latter. In dry goods the Englishman has no advantage, his brown shirtings being 12 to 16 cents per yard, while the American's are 13 1-5; the English brown sheetings are 42 cents, the American's very much cheaper, 17 1-3. Cotton flannel is 30 to 36 cents in Bradford, only 19 in Pennsylvania. In prints the American has an advantage, his being 11 cents, against 10 to 16 for the English. Medium satinetts are, however, much more expensive in America, being 58 cents to about 40 in Bradford. Boots are cheaper to the Englishman, being \$2.88 to \$3.84, against \$4.40 in Pennsylvania. In house rent and board the Englishman's wages will go about fifty per cent. further than the American's, four-room tenements costing the Bradford laborer \$7.76 to \$8.20 per month, while the American must pay \$9.37. If a single man he can board himself in the English manufacturing town for from \$2.88 to \$3.60 per week; in the Pennsylvania town, if a mechanic, he must pay \$4.75. If the boarder is a woman she must pay in England \$1.68 to \$2.16 per week; in Pennsylvania, if a factory hand, \$3 50.

It will be seen from these figures that the purchasing power of money in the two countries is not materially different in regard to provisions, groceries, fuel, and domestic dry goods, the low prices of some articles in one country being counterbalanced by the higher

prices of other articles in the competing country. But when the matter of house rent and board is estimated the Englishman has a very considerable advantage, though he probably gets less for his money; that is, the American laborer gets better lodging and food than the English.

The condition, then, of the English factory laborer in a woolen and steel manufacturing region like Bradford, and also generally in other parts of England, as compared with manufacturing States like Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, would seem to be this: His money has about the same purchasing power in each country, excepting in house rent and board; in these the American is at a disadvantage of fully one-half, while on the other hand his average wage is nearly one hundred per cent. greater than his competitors. The ultimate superiority seems, then, to rest with the American factory laborer.

It may be argued by some that provisions are materially lower in England than in the United States. But when we recall the fact that about two hundred million dollars worth of provisions and bread stuffs are shipped annually from this country to England, the claim that board is cheaper in England than in the United States is shown to be without a basis. Included in these exports there is an average of one hundred million dollars worth of wheat and flour, and from thirty to forty million dollars worth of butter, cheese, and lard. These are articles that reach the table of every family, and must, of course, after paying transportation over three thousand miles, insurance, exchange, commissions, and two or three profits between the producer and the consumer, cost more in England than they do in America.

The evidence is conclusive, therefore, that labor is better paid by nearly one hundred per cent. in the United States than in England, or in any other portion of the world. And in this fact we have the secret of the constant flow of immigration from almost every other section of civilization to the United States.

Dr. Young in his recent work remarks, (page 820,) that "the great advantages enjoyed by the working men in the United States, as compared with those of the same

class in the Old World, are sufficiently attested by the deep and steady current of emigration which sets toward our shores. One of the most conspicuous of these advantages consists in the equality of political rights with which the working man is here invested, and the comparatively high respect and dignity attached to his calling; but not less solid and decided are the advantages connected with abundant employment, good wages, and the substantial comforts of life. It is true that, in common with other countries where the system of credit has been largely developed, our country has had its occasional financial crises, accompanied with serious interruption to the ordinary course of commerce and industry; but such effects have been comparatively transient in their duration, and the normal condition of the country has been marked by a degree of prosperity rarely, if ever, enjoyed elsewhere; and rarely, if ever, in the history of the world has national prosperity been so largely shared by those usually denominated the working classes."

And why is labor better paid here than elsewhere? As stated in the commencement of this article, it must be traced directly and mainly to the *American System of Tariff Protection* to our manufacturing and agricultural industries, which secures to our own workmen the manufacture and production of nearly everything required for home consumption. We say nearly everything, although the language may be considered too sweeping while our annual imports still continue to amount in value to about \$600,000,000 per annum. Still the tariff secures to our own workmen the preparation of the largest portion of the commodities consumed at home.

But with the tariff reduced, as proposed by the Morrison bill, what will be the result? Our imports will soon go up to eight or nine hundred million dollars in value per annum, taking just so much more work out of the hands of our own people, and so many more millions of gold out of the country to pay for the manufacture of these goods abroad. This will be the result, and the only result of the Democratic Free-Trade policy. Do the people wish to try the experiment?

OUR CURRENCY—BANKS AND BANKING, PAST AND PRESENT.

The medium of exchange adopted upon the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, 1620, in their traffic with the natives, consisted of beads or wampum, made from the periwinkle and clam-shell. There was neither restriction upon nor limitation to its manufacture, and it was received as legal tender to the amount of 12*d*. Afterward it became the prevailing currency among the pioneers, and affords the first example we have of the evil results arising from inflation, though in a very primitive degree. The shell substitute was soon over-abundant, depreciated in value, then worthless, and abolished as a nuisance in 1650.

From beads the colonists took to barter to supply the deficiency; and at one time musket-balls were used for change, at a farthing apiece. These were legal in any sums below 12*d*.

There were some features in the barter currency of that day peculiarly characteristic of a much later period. When the common products of the land were made legal tender, no one would pay specie. This was hoarded for exports, which nothing but coin would satisfy, and the lesser value applied to liquidate indebtedness; thus steadily and surely impoverishing the standard of circulating medium. Or, if any one commodity lawfully paid a certain obligation to individual, State, or nation, the poorest article of the kind was selected. Many amusing incidents in this connection are related of those early times.

The urgent need of the new country was capital—solid substantial money for the legitimate transaction of business; and having but little of this, the momentous problem, even with Mr. Winthrop, was whether, being unable to have both, it were not better to do without foreign luxuries and retain the specie. This view has its application in many a financial stress long subsequent to the colonial day.

It has been often reiterated, and it appears incontrovertible, that the losses occasioned by irredeemable currency largely exceed the gains derived from importation. The surest

protection to industrial interests, to the general weal of the people, to the greatest good to all, is to keep a proper amount of national capital in coin circulation, and manufacture, or learn to do without such articles as are obtained only at the risk of crippling the resources, the energies, the progressive features of the country.

Massachusetts, in 1652, started a mint at Boston, to make what is known as "Pine Tree" coinage. The metal was chiefly procured through traffic with the buccaneers of the West Indies, who at that early date carried on a profitable trade with the colonies. This coin was below the standard of European money, the issue illegal, and though continued in operation thirty years the coins were all dated 1652.

A mint was established in Maryland in 1661, but nothing is known of its history. A bank was proposed in Massachusetts in 1686, but this, also, is obscure. In Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, however, it is recorded that this colony, in 1690, issued "paper notes" to defray the expenses of an expedition against Canada. The issue at first was moderate, and promptly redeemed upon maturity; but in 1704 the redemption was postponed two years, then indefinitely. Upon this, other issues were made for the current expenditures of the colony, and still others to loan to less fortunate communities. When once the scheme was in operation, and the tone of the people in harmony with the movement, the cost of production being light, it was deemed well enough to make the amount sufficient to cover all purposes. The ability to pay coin for this currency never once entered into the calculation, and the result was in keeping with the circumstances: Mr. Hutchinson, in his chronicle of that period, tells us, "there were special hard times in Massachusetts in 1715." He further asserts, "that of all those issues not one dollar in one hundred was ever redeemed."

This was the first experiment with a paper substitute for coin, and though this proved

disastrous, the country still smarting under the depression, steps were immediately taken to repeat the hazard.

Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey issued paper money in 1709; Pennsylvania in 1723; Maryland in 1734, while Virginia used tobacco warehouse receipts for currency till 1755. North and South Carolina also issued paper notes early in their history.

Of all the issues at that time put in circulation Massachusetts alone attempted to meet her obligation, and she only at eleven to one.

The First Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774, and deliberately proceeded to do what many a Congress has since done—just what it should not. With no plausible excuse, trade was thrown away when it should have been retained. It was decided that after December, 1774, nothing should be imported to any part of the British Empire, and from September, 1775, nothing should be exported from the same.

The short-sightedness of this legislation was soon apparent. On the eve of a great war English goods were needed for the army, and came around from the Continent and West Indies, while tobacco and lumber in exchange took a similar roundabout course.

The Second Congress, May 10, 1776, made war, but had no power to tax or borrow, and as the only available means, notwithstanding past experience, resorted to paper currency. The first issue was ordered June 23, 1775, and accompanied with a promise to pay 2,000,000 Spanish dollars. This issue was apportioned among the colonies, which were expected to redeem their quota by levying taxes. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire did this entirely. New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia did so in part. This issue, however, went on, and in January, 1777, the depreciation commenced.

Every possible means were resorted to by public officers and private committees to enforce the legal tender character of the bill, but with indifferent success. In 1779 the issue was \$160,000,000. At this time the

notes were twenty-eight to one; and in 1780 they were worth only two cents on the dollar.

In 1781, when Morris took charge of the finances, the notes were regarded as utterly worthless, and yet some eventually were redeemed at one hundred to one, in Hamilton's funding scheme.

This was the third attempt at a substitute for coin, and a much greater calamity than either that had preceded it. To enhance the sufferings arising from a general suspension of business, throwing thousands of men out of employment, there was an almost total failure of crops in 1779 and 1780.

In 1780, several wealthy men of Philadelphia, entering into a specific arrangement, took Government bills of exchange, and issued their own notes to purchase supplies for the army. December 31, 1781, this company was incorporated by Congress as the Bank of North America. The validity of this act being questioned, a charter was obtained from Pennsylvania, in 1783, for ten years, with a monopoly. In 1785 the State charter was repealed, but in 1787 renewed without the monopoly.

This enterprise being apparently successful, other States adopted a similar method. Massachusetts Bank was chartered in 1784; then, immediately one in New York, and another in Maryland. These temporarily relieved the pressing need of the country, and business began to revive. The industrial interests assumed a more healthful appearance, and this would have continued uninterrupted had the currency been based upon a coin valuation.

In 1787 the Federal Constitution was framed and contained this clause: "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, or make anything but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts." Thus did the wise men of that day express their condemnation of the paper system of money, and the people, groaning under recent experience, acquiesced.

The finances of that period, however, were in a deplorable condition. There was enough currency, but it had an uncertain value. The Confederation was little more than a shadow. It could not collect revenue or adjust its accounts. These were in inextric-

cable confusion, with no one on whom to charge the responsibility.

September 2, 1789, the Treasury Department was established, with Alexander Hamilton as Secretary. His report of the national debt, January 14, 1790, was \$42,000,000 domestic; \$11,000,000 foreign; States, \$25,000,000.

With this formidable array of figures, and no coin sufficient for needed purposes, Hamilton proposed a National Bank. There being no other alternative, this was incorporated by act of March 3, 1791, with a capital of \$10,000,000—\$8,000,000 subscribed by individuals (one-fourth in specie, three-quarters in United States stock) and \$2,000,000 by the Government. The charter was for twenty years, and no notes below \$10 were to be issued.

Soon afterward the Government sold its interest at 20, 25, and 40 per cent. premium. This was a wonderful incentive, and speculation ran high. From 1792 to 1812 one hundred and three banks were chartered, and expansion began.

In Massachusetts this took the form of "Wild-Cat." The new financial machine was powerful, in fine condition, and worked to its utmost capacity. The stock of specie was insignificant, but this did not check the issues. The precious metal was indeed scarce, and the little that could be collected under a combination of bankers was stealthily moved from bank to bank just in advance of the inspector.

A crisis under these circumstances was inevitable. It came in 1809. Some of the banks are reported as having \$20 to \$40 in specie, with circulation of notes ranging from \$100,000 to \$500,000. Not a few of the banks had not a dollar in specie, and none of them had any very considerable amount.

The Farmers' Exchange Bank of Gloucester, Rhode Island, chartered in 1804, was a fair representation of the class, as operated at that time, and we give a citation of facts relative to this from which to reach a proper understanding of the others.

Its capital stock was put down on the record at \$1,000,000. Only \$19,141, however, were ever paid in, and of this the directors drew out until there was a working capital

of only \$3,081. One Dexter, so we are told, bought up eleven of the directors at \$1,300 apiece, paying from the bank funds. He then borrowed of the bank \$760,265. This was a sharp trick of a stock gambler, and threw the concern into bankruptcy. When it failed it had \$86.46 in specie, with an outstanding circulation of not less than \$580,000.

Similar facts were developed all over the country, and the distress was universal. A few individuals, perhaps, had made vast fortunes, but the great mass of people were thrown into a financial crash from which it took years of patient toil to extricate themselves.

The question of coinage was taken up in 1781, and August 8, 1786, a general mint law was passed; yet silver was not coined till 1794, and gold in 1795.

Coin, however, was more difficult to be obtained than paper money, and the slow but sure road to solid substantial prosperity through a currency based upon an actual gold and silver basis, redeemable at par, was not suited to the progressive ideas of those who could discern more rapid wealth through a system of fraud as practiced by banking institutions of that period. Coin could only be manufactured as the metal was obtained; but paper notes could be printed in sums to meet the wants of all.

In the midst of these reckless financial theories there were a few good men who foresaw inevitable ruin from again flooding the country with a cheap substitute for money, and did all in their power to thwart a return to the previous irresponsible banking system. Governor Snyder, of Pennsylvania, in 1813 vetoed twenty-five bank charters, but in 1814 forty were passed over his veto.

Banks now multiplied on every hand, and the chief occupation of those in the Middle States was speculating in Government stock. This was a huge swindle, carried to the fullest extent, and laid the foundation for another collapse. Had the result fallen upon these banks, or the Government, it would have been a righteous retribution; but they escaped with coffers full, while the honest hard-working people—the mechanic, farmer, and tradesman—were the principal sufferers.

New Orleans banks refused to redeem in April, 1814; those of Philadelphia in August of the same year. The Southern States went with the rest, but Ohio and Kentucky paid specie till early in 1815, and the only bank then in Tennessee continued to redeem its circulation till August, 1815.

Directly upon this, the country staggering under a worthless currency, banks increased more rapidly than ever before, and this, too, while the notes of even the new banks required elaborate quotations. Brokers had a rich harvest negotiating them.

Niles' *Register*, from 1814 to 1820, is full of bitter denunciation against the system of "shaving" practiced upon the people. Many incidents and illustrations might be introduced, showing the baneful influence upon the best interests of the country growing out of this inability to redeem.

In this condition of the currency, October 17, 1814, Dallas, then Secretary of the Treasury, proposed a national non-specie-paying bank. Calhoun proposed a bank on Treasury notes, which should not suspend specie payment. Dallas' scheme passed the Senate, but was lost in the House. Then a plan for a bank that should be prohibited from suspending passed both houses, and was vetoed by the President January 30, 1815. Dallas' scheme again passed the Senate February 17, 1815, but as before was defeated in the House.

Calhoun, at the next session, reintroduced the bank proposition, and assisted by Dallas, a charter was passed April 10, 1816. This bank was to have \$35,000,000 capital, \$7,000,000 to be subscribed by the Government in five per cent. stock; \$28,000,000 by the public. Of this, \$7,000,000 was to be specie, \$21,000,000 six per cent. United States stock, and to issue no notes below \$5. This bank Calhoun and Dallas boastfully asserted "was established to correct the currency, and be a financial providence to the country."

See how well they kept the promise. Three brief years of existence, and upon the supposition the affairs of the bank were not properly conducted, Congress appointed a committee to investigate January 16, 1819; this committee made its report, fully sustaining the charges. Thereupon the President and

managers resigned, and Langdon Cheves took charge of the bank. He found the institution insolvent, and the liabilities not less than \$3,000,000.

This was the key-note of another general suspension—another strain upon the country's honor, and it came with a vengeance. Twenty thousand persons in Philadelphia alone were thrown out of employment. New York, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh—great manufacturing centers—were in the same condition. The entire industrial interests of the nation were paralyzed—hopelessly prostrated through this curse of cheap substitute for money.

Niles, under date of May 17, 1823, in his *Register*, alluding to this period, says: "The banks were gambling hells." He further tells us that there were three grades of paper "called money" afloat at that time. The first was notes of incorporated companies that still retained some pretense to solvency; the second was notes of banks which had no local habitation, save in a name, the bills being printed in some obscure counting-room, known only to the initiated, and invariably circulated at a distance, so that by the time they reached home for redemption the bank had ceased to exist, or could not be found; the third consisted of counterfeits, and of these there was a bountiful stock.

The total amount of the three species in circulation cannot even be approximated, but the number of banks was not far from three hundred and ninety-seven.

Notwithstanding these salutary lessons, which should have taught the people better than again venturing upon the sea of an uncertain circulating medium, in 1824 all the banks expanded. Pennsylvania re-chartered its banks of 1814; a better tariff was obtained, duties rose, and a feeling of security gave to business renewed life.

In the spring of 1825 fifty-two bank charters were petitioned for in New York alone. Alabama and Tennessee were still struggling with the past, but putting forth every effort to sustain their bank circulation. Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were hampered by the "relief" system, a code of stay laws against the collection of debts. New York and Boston were fighting these banks, hoping

to obtain a monopoly, and the United States Bank increased its issue \$3,000,000.

English manufacturers were prosperous, and the demand for raw material unprecedented. Cotton reached twenty-seven cents, and corn was pulled up to plant cotton. Speculation was rife, and the excess of exports over imports, in 1825, was \$2,646,290.

In July the prices in England fell. It created a panic here. Fifty failures took place in New York before December. Banks failed by the score, and even the United States Bank was in trouble. The Government had \$7,000,000 in coin to pay, and the money was to come through this bank. The payment was delayed. When paid, the bank was debtor to the State banks, and could not redeem its circulation. Then followed a repetition of 1819.

Niles, in his *Register*, under date of May 9, 1833, says that new banks opened and a period of speculation began in 1834. In 1835, he adds: "This became wild, seizing upon cotton, lands, negroes, city lots, western lands, and every form of stock;" but the administration having learned wisdom from experience, foreshadowing the inevitable result, induced most of the States to forbid notes under \$5.

At that time there was supposed to be \$64,000,000 of specie in the banks. In the winters of 1835-36, however, indication of weakness became apparent, and quotations began to fluctuate. A feeling of uneasiness pervaded the masses—especially affecting manufacturing and agricultural interests.

July 11, 1836, the Secretary of the Treasury issued a circular forbidding the receipt of anything but specie for public lands. Congress, fearful of the consequences, at once passed a resolution practically rescinding this order, which was sent to the President, and by him forwarded to the State Department, where it was filed March 3, 1837. But the crisis was at hand.

Early in March, 1837, an important firm in New Orleans failed, because of decline in cotton. An equally extensive establishment in New York closed its doors immediately upon the receipt of this news. This was the beginning. The whole southwest was at once prostrated, and May eighth, of the same

year, a run was made on the Dry Dock Bank of New York, causing its suspension. The other banks throughout the country were forced to succumb. Gold went up to 107; all specie had disappeared, and the market was once again flooded with worthless paper.

To present in detail a description of the various effects these monetary disasters produced, the sufferings of the poor, the destruction of industrial schemes, the injury to husbandry, to every species of individual and national interests, would fill volumes. It is, however, surprising with what wonderful persistency the country, emerging from one of these reckless schemes, plunges headlong into another.

In 1838 business again revived, and a moderate feeling of security took possession of the masses. There was, however, a disposition to enter upon a more careful system of banking; but a proper solution of the currency problem had not yet been made, and further experience was necessary.

Scarcely had the country settled down from the previous shock when the United States Bank became involved in cotton speculation, and there was again symptoms of trouble in the finances. The old bank worked hard to sustain itself, but there was no coin, and the notes were sold in New York and Boston at 18 to 24 per cent. discount.

Upon this several banks failed in different parts of the country. Throughout the Western States, especially Michigan and Illinois, suspensions were numerous. The notes of several joint-stock companies were discounted at 25 to 60 per cent.

Alabama, during 1838, created a debt of \$15,000,000 to found banks. This was nearly all lost. Mississippi, the same year, borrowed \$7,000,000 for similar purposes, and the whole debt eventually was repudiated.

September 10, 1839, a draft of the United States Bank was refused in Paris. A respite, however, was obtained through small loans. This could not long continue. The bank owed \$20,000,000 in New York, \$800,000 in Boston.

A spirit of rivalry seems to have always existed among banks, and this indebtedness was promptly brought home for payment.

The pressure was too great, and October 10, 1839, the doors were closed.

This event was followed by the suspension of nearly every bank in the South and West. New England held out for a time, but finally suspended wholly or in part. Three hundred and forty-three banks, out of eight hundred and fifty, closed entirely, sixty-two partially, and over \$2,000,000 Government deposits were lost.

Again we have an instance of the recuperative powers of the nation. There was a period of universal prosperity from 1841 to 1853. Business men had regained confidence and all classes expanded their engagements, many, however, going far beyond the protection of their resources. This was particularly the case of those engaged in banks and bank speculation.

The first alarm came from the discovery of the Schuyler frauds. At this time Ohio had a large circulation of bank notes, mostly of what was known as "free banks." When the contraction began, these notes came in only to find the banks unprepared to redeem them. Stronger indications of the shock were felt in 1857, upon the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, of Cincinnati, with liabilities upward of \$7,000,000; and the loss of the steamer "Central America," with a million of specie, enhanced the stringency.

Following this were several failures of more or less importance, and in September a large number suspended. Stocks fell 40 to 50 per cent., and a panic ensued. This was short, sharp, and severe, but did not reach the productive powers of the country. The recovery was rapid, the reaction healthy. The losses were immense, but, as Professor Sumner says, "it was only a bad stumble in a career of great prosperity."

The public debt, January 1, 1861, was \$90,500,000. There were 1,605 banks, with \$429,600,000 capital, \$207,200,000 deposits, \$91,300,000 specie, \$202,000,000 circulation, and \$695,700,000 loans. The number of failures during 1861, consequent upon the seceding of the Southern States and the political excitement of the period, was 5,935, for \$178,600,000.

February 25, 1863, a bill proposing the

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present system of national banks passed and became law, fixing the bank capital at \$300,000,000. An act approved July 12, 1870, increased this \$45,000,000, and January 14, 1875, all restriction on the amount was removed.

October 5, 1865, there were 66 banks in operation. December, 1874, the Comptroller of the Currency reported 2,200 banks as having been organized, 35 of which had failed, 137 closed business, and 2,028 remaining. December 31, 1874, there was one less—2,027.

The bank capital at this time was \$495,800,000; loans, \$955,800,000; bonds to secure circulation, \$412,900,000; specie, \$22,400,000; United States Treasury certificates of deposit, \$133,500,000; legal tenders, \$82,700,000; five per cent. redemption fund, \$76,900,000; circulation, \$332,000,000; deposits, \$682,800,000.

July, 1864, gold reached its highest—235. May, 1865, it was down to 140.

The same startling premonitions preceding the financial disasters of the past were apparent in 1871-2, and were significant of the approaching absorption by expanding credit of the legally limited amount of paper currency.

September 8, 1873, the New York Warehouse and Security Company failed. Then one or two firms involved in railroad speculation. Confidence was at once shaken, and banks known to be carrying this species of stock were subjects of suspicion. With past experience in such matters, to suspect was to act, and a run on the deposits of these doubtful concerns was made. September 18, 1873, Jay Cooke & Co. fell under this demand, and a panic ensued.

The crisis was ominous in its effects, producing a general and widespread doubt and want of confidence, and a stagnation of business was the result. Wages were at once reduced, and workmen by the tens of thousands discharged or put upon half time. The poor, as is ever the case, were the first to suffer. There has been a marked lack of reviving courage and enterprise the past two years. Millions upon millions of money are lying idle in banks or hoarded away, held back through fear to enter upon any commercial or manufacturing engagements.

June 30, 1875, the total paper currency in circulation was: National bank notes, \$351,-869,008; old demand and legal-tender notes, \$375,841,687; fractional currency, \$42,129,-424. Total, \$769,840,119.

In preparation for the redemption provided for in act of June 20, 1874, there has been deposited with the United States Treasurer, for purposes of retiring bank circulation, \$19,709,666.

The operations of the three mints—Philadelphia, San Francisco, and Carson City—in total for the year ending June 30, 1875, were as follows: Gold, \$33,553,965; silver, \$10,070,368.

Professor Sumner says: "For us the currency question is of the first importance, and we cannot solve it nor escape it by ignoring it. We have got to face it and work through it, and the best way to begin is, not by wrangling about speculative opinions as to untried schemes, but go back to history and try and get hold of some firmly established principle from which we can proceed with

some degree of confidence and a certain unanimity."

Hon. John Sherman says: "Convince the commercial world that you will redeem this currency in gold when presented, and it becomes par in gold. It will then buy as much food and clothing as the best gold coin issued from the mint. Then the note and the gold will circulate side by side, the one interchangeable for the other. To accomplish this is now the highest object of statesmanship and the greatest good to all classes."

In view of the past, as we have it from history, and in the presence of the present, seen and comprehended through enlarged experience and through tests, can there be any doubt, any hesitancy, in the proper action to be taken? No man possessed of his reasoning faculties, having the indisputable proofs accumulated through a period of two hundred and fifty years without a single deviation in results, and having the best interests of his country at heart, will pronounce in favor of inflation.

THE WORK OF THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

SMALL PROGRESS.

April 17, 1876.—Another month is gone, and of the fourteen regular appropriation bills only the fortification bill and the diplomatic bill have passed both houses of Congress; meanwhile some of the appropriations of the last year have run out, with no provisions for the continuance of the work to which they were applied, and thus the legitimate business of the Government has been arrested, hundreds turned out of employment and plunged into the greatest distress. The public accommodation has been interfered with, and propositions have been suggested to supply the lack and avoid the wide-spread inconvenience by a resort to private contributions, in default of the most-needed and legitimate action of Congress. That such an abnormal state of things should exist is due wholly to the selfish and obstinate perversity of the Democratic majority in the House.

PROPOSALS IN CONGRESS.

The principal subjects which have claimed the attention of Congress during the last

month, aside from the numerous investigations now on foot, are as follows: A vast number of petitions, memorials, reports of committees, and bills for private claimants; declaratory statements of the nationality of the Republic; final action of Congress providing for payment of interest on District bonds; discussion of the Government policy in regard to the interests of the Sioux reservation; action of the House on various matters pertaining to the District of Columbia, its railroads, business companies, and charitable institutions; debate on a proposed plan of government for the Indian Territory; debate on a post route bill in the Senate; making April 14th a holiday; discussion on the resumption of specie payments; debate on commerce, navigation, and the regulation of steam vessels, with a bill passed in the House in relation thereto; debate on the pay of army officers, also with a bill passed in the House; elaborate discussion by Senator Sherman on the value of the trade-dollar; appropriation of forty thousand dollars in aid of the Government exhibition

at the Centennial Exposition; protracted debate against the confirmation of the Hawaiian treaty; memorial of the women of America who are urging the question of female suffrage, praying that in the formation of a government for the District of Columbia this feature may be incorporated; proposed amendment of the bankrupt law; proposition to restore pensions to the soldiers of the war of 1812 in the rebel States, with a bill to this effect passed in the House; a full statement of the increasing troubles on the Texas frontier, and the wrongs inflicted on property and person by Mexican invaders; appropriation for Treasury expenditures; for gas, fuel, &c., in the Government buildings throughout the country; action in regard to the receivers of national banks; debate on the proposal of a national rate of interest accordant with the exigency and demands of the times; the exposition of affairs of the mint at San Francisco; proposed action in regard to the tax on tobacco; strong debate and protest against the further granting of subsidies to railroad and other corporations; discussion on the duty of the Government to foster the interest of agriculture; action in regard to the improvement of Pennsylvania avenue; protracted debate on the proper disposition of the public lands, and introduction of the deficiency bill in the House. From such an enumeration of subjects some idea may be obtained of the immense pressure of business upon Congress and of the value of time and its economy in the progress of legislation.

SET SPEECHES.

A very large number of carefully-prepared speeches have been made, on a variety of topics, during the last month. On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Hubbell spoke on the question of the tariff, criticising the features of the proposed bill of Mr. Morrison, and showing, by a great variety of statistics, the wisdom of the policy of protection. On Wednesday, March 22d, Mr. Phillips made a speech on party politics and the Federal Constitution, in which he attempted to show that there is a strong tendency under Republican rule toward the centralization of Federal power, to the detriment of the rights of the States guaranteed by the Constitution. On

Friday, March 24th, Mr. White delivered a speech on standard money and low salaries, in which he urged that the public faith is pledged to the resumption of specie payments, and that there should be a reduction of all salaries alike. The speech was full of the sentiment of the early and economical days of the nation. On Thursday, March 23d, Mr. Durham made a speech on honesty, reform, and economy, replete with valuable statistics, showing that the annual expenses of the Government had steadily increased from 1789-1791, when they were \$1,919,589.52, to 1874-1875, when they were \$171,529,848.27; and that, while this was indicative of a monstrous growth of the country, it gave rise likewise to thoughtful suggestions upon the wide-spread extravagance, speculation, and temptation to fraud from which so many evils flow. On Wednesday, April 5th, Mr. Cox made a speech on the transfer of the Indian Bureau to the War Department, in which he argued strongly against the proposed transfer, and attempted to show how detrimental the change would be to the 300,000 Indians scattered over 200,000 square miles of our territory. He proceeded at great length, and adduced a variety of considerations of a telling kind against the proposition. On the same day Mr. Sparks also delivered a speech on Indian affairs, in favor of the transfer, contending that in the last two hundred and fifty years the red man has faded away before the advance of the white man, and that the present system of peace and civilization under missionary agents has proved a practical failure. On Friday, April 7th, Mr. Stone delivered a speech on "straw bids" in the contracts of the General Post Office Department, attempting to show a loss to the Government arising from abuse and irregularity in the letting of contracts. But the speech was behind the time, since months ago the Postmaster General had investigated and exposed the facts, and adopted a safer policy on the whole subject. On April 6th Mr. Gibson delivered a speech on the Hawaiian treaty, and on April 8th elaborate speeches were made by Mr. Joyce on the resumption of specie payments, by Mr. Williams on the reduction of salaries, and by Mr. Dibrell on river and harbor improvements. This range of subjects will serve to give some a more

adequate idea of the vast amount of work performed, and the information collected upon the state of the country in the wondrous progress of our civilization, in the midst of conditions never before combined on so great a scale in the history of nations. Party considerations of course enter into these investigations, but it may be even doubted whether this is an unmixed evil. It is better that there should be diversity of views than unbroken despotism.

THE PAY OF WITNESSES.

The Democratic majority of the House have been so eager to hunt out fraud by the wholesale, they have summoned so many witnesses from every quarter of the country, that in the midst of their professions of retrenchment and reform they have incurred a bill of expense which is growing to be formidable, and they have asked for an appropriation of sixty thousand dollars to meet the exigency. But this item, large as it is, will be augmented to a sum far greater before the matter is ended. It seems somewhat strange in connection with this lavish expenditure on investigations that Congress should have agreed to cut down the President's salary again to twenty-five thousand dollars, besides abolishing many useful offices, and grinding the faces of Government employes to a still greater extent.

THE INDIAN DEFICIENCY BILL.

This appropriation was finally disposed of, Tuesday, March 28th, by the adoption of the report of the conference committee of the two houses, and is one of the very few appropriations which have received the sanction of law during the present session.

TEXAS PACIFIC RAILWAY.

A strong case in argument has been made in behalf of this grand enterprise, but as yet without avail. On Wednesday, March 15th, Mr. Atkins, in a carefully prepared speech upon the subject, stated that within the last year a railroad convention had been held at St. Louis, composed of representatives from thirty-one States and Territories, and comprising the leading business men of the nation, and that this convention had given expression of its conclusion to Congress that there should be an open highway for all time to come for the Government and

people from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This fact, together with many others, was argued in support of the project. It was stated that from the foundation of the Government to the present time the enormous sum of \$104,705,163.43 had been appropriated for railroads, canals, and wagon-roads throughout the older portions of the country, and on April 8th Mr. Woodburn followed up the subject in a speech of remarkable power, but the temper of Congress does not seem to be favorable to any present action in the premises.

FRACTIONAL CURRENCY AND SILVER COIN.

Much discussion has risen in both branches of Congress upon the proposal to retire a portion of the fractional currency and to substitute silver in its stead. On Wednesday, March 27th, Mr. Payne introduced in the House a bill to provide for the gradual resumption of specie payments, involving in part the principle of the substitution of silver for legal-tender notes, but the House refused to suspend the rules to take it up. The discussion on this subject ran through several successive days, embracing every conceivable theory for the remedy of our financial difficulties, till at length a bill providing for the deficiency in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving and for the issue of silver coin in place of fractional currency passed the House and was sent to the Senate. On April 10 Senator Sherman called up this bill, and after having explained its provisions and shown the necessity of immediate action it was put upon its passage, so that the functions of this bureau of the Treasury Department which have been for some time suspended may be resumed and a partial remedy applied to the general distress.

THIRD CLASS MAIL MATTER.

A modification of the law concerning the carrying of books, magazines, and heavy matter of all kinds by the United States mails has occupied the time of Congress. On Wednesday, April 5th, Senator Hamlin called up the bill upon this subject.

The first section declares that mailable matter of the third class shall embrace all pamphlets, occasional publications, regular publications devoted primarily to advertising purposes or for free circulation or for

circulation at nominal subscription rates, prices-current, catalogues, annuals, handbills, posters, unsealed circulars, prospectuses, books bound or unbound, book-manuscripts, proof-sheets, maps, prints, engravings, blanks, flexible patterns, samples, merchandise, sample cards, phonographic paper, letter envelopes, postal envelopes and wrappers, cards, plain and ornamental paper, photographic representations, seeds, cuttings, bulbs, roots, scions, and all other matter which may be declared mailable by law, and all other articles not above the weight prescribed by law which are not from their form or nature liable to destroy, deface, or otherwise injure the contents of the mail-bags or the person of any one engaged in the postal service. All liquors, poisons, glass, explosive materials, and obscene books or papers shall be excluded from the mails.

Section 2 provides that packages of matter of the third class shall not exceed four pounds in weight, and shall be subject to examination and rates of postage as hereinafter provided. The postage on mail matter of the third class is to be, for all distances of one thousand miles or less, one cent for each ounce or fractional part thereof; for all distances over one thousand miles, two cents for each ounce or fractional part thereof. Every package of the third class of mail matter is to bear the post-mark of the office at which it shall be mailed for transportation.

By the third section, postages on third-class matter are to be prepaid by stamps. If, however, the postages on third-class matter mailed at an office be less than the full amount prescribed, in cases where the sender is known he shall be notified of the fact and the amount of postage due be collected from him. In case the sender is not known, and where it has not been the evident intention of the party so depositing the package to place less than full postage thereon, the package shall be forwarded, and double the amount of deficient postage shall be collected from the party to whom it is addressed or delivered at its proper destination.

Section 4 provides that the sender of any article of the third class of mail matter may write his or her name and address therein or on the outside thereof, with the word "from" above or preceding the same, or may

write briefly or print on any package the number and names of the articles inclosed. Publishers of newspapers and periodicals may print on the wrappers of newspapers or magazines sent from the office of publication to regular subscribers the time to which subscription therefor has been paid.

Section 5 provides that transient newspapers and magazines shall be admitted to, and transmitted in, the mails at the rate of one cent for every three ounces or fractional part thereof, and one cent for each two additional ounces or fractional part thereof.

By section 6 the act is to take effect on and after the 1st day of July, 1876.

A number of amendments have been proposed and the question having been daily discussed by several Senators is still unfinished.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO ELECTION FUNDS.

On Tuesday, March 21st, Mr. Caulfield, from the Committee on the Judiciary, in the House, reported to the House a bill, with an amendment, making political contributions for the purposes of elections a misdemeanor, and punishing the same by fine and imprisonment. This measure has called forth a spirited discussion, and seems to be an attempt to regulate a subject so ramified and shaded off by fine degrees that any practical control of it would appear impossible. On Wednesday, March 22d, the bill was called up in the House, and, after a spirited and brilliant discussion and some amendment, was passed by a vote of 175 to 8—106 not voting.

THE LEGISLATIVE APPROPRIATION BILL.

This bill, which is one of the largest appropriation bills for annual expenses, embracing a great variety of subjects, has been more or less daily discussed in the House for a month past. Over every department and almost every office of the Government a contest arises as to the necessity of continuing it, or, if this be conceded, as to the feasibility of cutting down the salaries and expenses pertaining to it. One of the most amusing as well as suggestive features of the debate is that which exhibits the honorable gentlemen discussing the propriety of cutting down their own salaries. This, of course, is a delicate matter, and it may turn out at last that the whole Democratic majority of

the House will wheel directly about and go in for double appropriations as a measure of popularity and political effect in the country. The bill is still pending, with no prospect of conclusion.

MISSISSIPPI ELECTION.

Senator Morton, after having struggled for days and weeks to bring the deplorable state of things in Mississippi, as evinced by the last State elections, to the notice of the Senate, and after having encountered a strong opposition from Democratic Senators, has at length succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a committee of five Senators to investigate these frauds, with plenary powers to go into the State and to send for persons and papers. On Tuesday, April 4th, this committee, consisting of Messrs. Boutwell, Cameron of Wisconsin, Oglesby, Bayard, and McDonald, was appointed.

COUNTING ELECTORAL VOTES.

Early in the session Senator Morton introduced a bill providing for the counting of electoral votes for President and Vice President of the United States. It is in effect the same bill which passed the Senate in the last Congress, and would no doubt obviate many of the difficulties which might prove very serious in certain contingencies. This bill has been very thoroughly discussed, and was finally passed in the Senate, Friday, March 24th. But a motion to reconsider it was subsequently made by Senator Thurman, and so the matter remains. This, no doubt, is one of the most important subjects of legislation and the final action of Congress should make such provision as will render it impossible for any serious disorder to arise in case of a contested election.

HALLET KILBOURN.

The case of this gentleman bids fair to become one of the celebrated cases of personal rights and Congressional power in the history of the country. Called before the House investigating committee on the case of what is now known as the real estate pool, he was required to produce his private books, papers, and documents that the committee might rummage them over and see if they could find anything to criminate anybody. This was on the pretext that the house of Jay Cooke & Co. having failed and being a

debtor to the Government of the United States, it is legitimate to trace any transactions of the said Company with "the real estate pool" to see if any of the money belonging to the Government had been there swallowed up. No one asserted that such was the fact, nor has any one claimed a knowledge of any transaction on which such an inquiry could be based. In these circumstances Mr. Kilbourn refused to produce his books. He was brought to the bar of the House and required by its authority to produce his books or show cause for his refusal. To this demand he replied in an elaborate statement setting forth the facts of the case, at the same time signifying his willingness to answer any questions pertinent to the legitimate purpose of the investigation, and claiming the right to protection as an American citizen, under the Constitution and laws, against improper search and seizure of his person and effects. This reply was not satisfactory to the Democratic majority of the House, and they forthwith, in violation of a specific statute provided for such cases, turned him over to the sergeant-at-arms of the House to be confined in the common jail. Soon after an indictment was found against Mr. Kilbourn by the grand jury of the District of Columbia, under the statute for recusant witnesses; and then the question arose between the right and authority of the court and of the House of Representatives as to the custody of the prisoner. The House refused to turn the prisoner over to the court; whereupon the Chief Justice of the court issued a writ of *habeas corpus* upon the sergeant-at-arms of the House to produce the body of Mr. Kilbourn, that he may show cause, if any he has, why he should not be detained in the custody of the House. The issue of this writ and the power of the House in the premises has just been fiercely discussed in the House, and has resulted in a vote directing the sergeant-at-arms to obey the writ. Accordingly, on Tuesday, the 18th of April, Mr. Kilbourn was brought before the court to show cause why he should not be kept in the custody of the House. This is the condition of the case at the present writing.

To all unprejudiced minds the House has been acting in direct violation of an express

law by which Mr. Kilbourn should have been turned over to the court; and he has thus been unlawfully confined for several weeks by the mere arbitrary will of the House. It is a case in which the rights of all citizens are involved, and ought to be a warning to the American people, who are ever jealous of such unwarranted encroachment on their constitutional prerogatives.

IMPEACHMENT OF W. W. BELKNAP.

During the last month the Democratic leaders in the House have been busy in preparing the articles of impeachment against the late Secretary of War, and after all the preliminaries had been arranged on Monday, April 17th, the Senate was constituted as a High Court of Impeachment, and the parties all appeared amid a great concourse of spectators. The proceedings were opened in due form and General Belknap was called to respond to the charges exhibited against him.

He answered by his counsel that he was a private citizen and denied the jurisdiction of the Senate in the premises. To this pleading the managers on the part of the House replied by requesting an adjournment of the court to Wednesday, April 19th, in order to prepare the answer of the House. Thus today the matter stands.

From this review it may be seen how small a portion of the necessary legislative business of the present Congress at the end of four and a half months has been accomplished. Meanwhile the country is becoming more and more demoralized and sickened. It is a strange spectacle for the thoughtful and patriotic citizens in this Centennial year of the Republic. But we still have faith in "the sober second thought" of the people. We believe in the perpetuity of our institutions and in the theory of our civilization.

REVIEW OF THE MONTH.

NATIONAL.

...It is gratifying to observe how steadily the Republican press, especially that portion of it which is sometimes sneered at by the self-righteous metropolitan journals as "provincial," keeps in mind the real character of the present campaign of slander and scandal waged under pretense of investigation by the Democratic majority of the House of Representatives. A great mistake is made in supposing that the dozen newspapers which are so euphoniously and egotistically styled the "great dailies" either lead or represent public opinion. They are sometimes able to pervert and mislead it, and sometimes, it is to be said with truth, to concentrate and intensify its force. A notable illustration of this may be recalled in the downfall of the Tweed *regime* mainly through the vigorous editorial assaults of the New York Times, and the very graphic and powerful satire embodied by Thomas Nast in wonderful cartoons which were, like Luther's words, "half battles." He made the crimes of Tammany so plain that the wayfaring man, though a fool, might understand. But it remains true that the editorial departments of the great dailies do not either

lead, or represent the average public opinion of the masses. This is true of both parties, but especially so of the Republican organization. The American people are not cavilers and critics; they are creators and believers. They know well that there is not the reckless corruption charged, and a large majority have a sufficiently intelligent knowledge, of contemporaneous history at least, as to be fully aware of the fact that the affairs of the United States are, as a rule, more honestly conducted than are those of other leading nations. They know the law of cause and effect quite enough to understand how much of individual malfeasance is due to the corrupting influence of a false and speculative money-making era, and how much of it is due to the demoralizing tendencies which inevitably follow in the train of a great war. If history is philosophy teaching by example, daily journalism has become the best teacher of the inductive process the world has seen since Francis Bacon formulated his great theory into a scientific method of thought. The power of the leading dailies lies not in their editorial lucubrations, which, except under special conditions, have nowadays but very little weight with intelligent

readers, but is found in news-gathering and news-presenting functions. Given a certain line of facts bearing on some obscure issue likely to become of importance, and let some one or more of the prominent journals present them day after day *as news*, apparently or actually without comment, and it will not be long before it will become apparent that the obscurity vanishes, and that the public is becoming cognizant of what they convey or teach. The power of the leading dailies, then, is no longer that of journals either of opinion or convictions, but that of the *news* paper only. This truth has been evident for some years past, to some at least of the more unscrupulous managers of such papers; and, as a consequence, we have witnessed the most adroit prostitution of this important function of the journalist and journal that the history even of the American press contains. It is a far more dangerous method of assault on not only party, but national character, than the editorial fashion of a former generation, so mercilessly satirized by a Trollope and a Dickens.

The people begin to understand this quite fully, and everywhere it is manifest by the care which the local press observes in sifting the facts from the insidious garb of slander and innuendo wherewith they are presented, and the hesitancy displayed in quoting, as formerly, from any one of the dozen papers whose names naturally come to our pen's tip in this connection.

THE REPUBLIC can judge fairly as to these tendencies, receiving and examining as it does over a thousand papers each week. They come from all sections, and represent various opinions, though mainly belonging to the national party. It is gratifying, therefore, to find how steadily most editors keep in view and discriminate the false and the true in the present condition of general politics. The "country" press, so called, is the best possible mirror of neighborhood opinion to be found. One statement will prove this to the dumbest person. Suppose oneself to be living in an interior town of some distant State or rural district, able to subscribe to two papers and no more. What are the probabilities? Why, that one would be a daily or tri-weekly from some one of the large cities and the other the local paper.

In subscribing for the first the effort will be to obtain that paper which is most enterprising and presents the largest amount of news. This, too, without regard to its political views. At any rate, if there is a choice, it will be decided in favor of the best *news* paper. As to the local paper, the subscription will invariably be for that one which advocates opinions harmonious with those of the patron. Herein lies the reason for asserting that the local press best represents the average opinion. What, then, are the current opinions thus represented? They may be emphasized in this form:

A clear comprehension among all Republican and loyal newspapers, outside of the commercial center, of the fact that the vital and overshadowing issue in the pending campaign is, whether *the party policies and principles which saved the Union, or those which deliberately attempted to destroy it, are or not to control its immediate future*. It is clearly understood that the election in November next decides, for a decade at least, whether the pestilent doctrine of State sovereignty, with its inevitable tendencies to disruption of the Union, or that superb unifying and creative spirit and philosophy of national sovereignty which was animated into activity and vigor by the crimson forces of the struggle for liberty and union, and by which alone the Continental Republic can be preserved intact, shall be or not the permanent moulder and controller of our public affairs and administration.

Next there is equally as clear an apprehension of the necessity of honest government, the checking of abuses, the correction of systems which tend to evil results, and an honest determination to make all needed reform *from within* and through trusted hands—hands that have heretofore saved and never sought to destroy.

Another important fact, incidental though it be, is found in the readiness with which the Democratic thieves who are crying "stop thief" so lustily are discomfited by the reproduction of their party's own infamous record. The "country" press everywhere shows that the people know who are to be trusted by the manner in which all these pertinent facts are recalled.

...There has been a marked improvement in the tone and ability of the local press everywhere, during the past year especially. Their editors are doing their own thinking. The change in the attitude of the two *Tribunes*, New York and Chicago, of late years has done very much to emancipate the rural Republican journalists. In former days an editorial cue was too often implicitly followed; now, however, it is combated. The Republican masses have not followed them since 1868; and the country press looked more to their own resources to conduct the new discussions that arose. Mr. Greeley's candidacy completed an emancipation already begun, and there is no return to the same sort of dependency that once existed.

CONGRESS.

...It is many years since the public business has dragged behind so far as at the present time. Only ten weeks of the current fiscal year remain, and not a single one of the important appropriation bills have become law. The policy which controls the Democratic majority is simply infamous in its spirit. Messrs. Randall and Holman are responsible for shaping it, and their followers are obedient, even in face of better impulses. As shown elsewhere in the present number the aim of the reductions attempted in force and salaries is not that of economy and good Government; but only to obtain a rallying cry for the canvass, or, worse still, to cripple the Administration and render it impotent to carry on the work of government. The earnestness manifested in applying party discipline and forcing the bills through the House without amendment is based upon the expectation of making party capital out of the resistance which the Republican Senate will necessarily make to such reckless legislation. The Democratic leaders and their following appear to have no other aim than that of making party capital. The Northern managers hope to repair the breaches in their fortunes constantly made by the Southern hot-spurs like Hill, Tucker, Blackburn & Co., by means of the slanderous investigations they are carrying on in secret, and though the *eclat* they expect to gain by their pretended economy

and cutting down. They will fail of both. There never was a more pitiable illustration of demagogism than the manner in which they treat the character and reputation of gentlemen distinguished in the public service and honored in private life. It is a base and contemptible partisanship which turns aside from discussion of principles or policy and rakes the slums of slander and the sewers of defamation to assail with filth gentlemen whose crime it is that they are political opponents, and have been or are still trusted by the American people. Secretary Bristow is the latest target. He fitly reproves the malignantly discourteous spirit referred to in the following words extracted from a letter addressed by him to Representative Caulfield, of Ill., chairman of the Committee on Expenditures of the Department of Justice, before which it was reported certain accusations had been made. Mr. Bristow very pointedly writes:

"It is difficult to credit the statement that an officer of the Government who could be reached by your committee in a few minutes should be allowed to remain in ignorance of the exact character of such testimony for nearly a week, and that no opportunity to meet charges of so serious a nature should be afforded him."

...In the British House of Commons no member can be assailed in his personal or legislative honor and integrity, either by petition or direct attack on the floor, without having first been notified and being himself present and ready to respond. No petition can be read, if it makes charges against a member of either the government or the opposition, if the party assailed has not been duly notified and is present. In the American House of Representatives, however, under the guidance of the Democracy, members, either of the House or of the Executive branch of the Government, are assailed in secret, and evidence taken by inquisitorial committees from the veriest *mouchards*, and the first knowledge obtained by either the public or the accused is through some sensation paragraph in journals whose agents are engaged in the work of systematizing public libel. But there is a difference. In Great Britain all parties seek to conserve the honor and characters of their public men,

believing that thereby the national reputation is ennobled. In America it would seem to be a Democratic rule never to avoid an opportunity to blacken the reputation of a public man, provided only he is not a Democrat, no matter what may be the effect of the slander on personal or national character.

...Two important issues are on trial at the present writing. One is involved in the impeachment proceedings against Mr. Belknap, and the other in those against Mr. Kilbourn over the writ of *habeas corpus* issued by Chief Justice Cartter, of the District Supreme Court. In the first, apart altogether from the questions of fact and personal or official character which are involved, an important precedent is to be made, and the Senate, sitting in its high judicial character, will decide whether or not a citizen can, now or hereafter, escape trial by impeachment by resigning an office pending the examination into alleged malfeasance and corruption. In the other case it is to be considered whether or not the Congress of the United States is the only function or body in this Government wherein rests absolute power, even though it is restrained only to the imprisoning of a contumacious witness. The President can exercise the power of pardon on his own will and motion, but he may be impeached for its misuse or abuse. The Supreme Court has the power of review, and may declare laws to be unconstitutional, thereby nullifying the work of legislation, but its members may be impeached, or Congress may so legislate as to increase their numbers or otherwise modify the adverse *dicta*, by changing the *personnel* or duties of the court itself. But the plea of the extreme defenders of parliamentary power would, in cases like that of Kilbourn, leave no review or recourse except that of the popular vote. It is to be noted that the larger portion of the votes given in support of legislative omnipotence come from the Democratic supporters of the extreme States' rights school. This fact illustrates a criticism often made on them, and that is, that when in control of the Federal Government or any portion thereof they have always been found ready to strain their powers to the utmost.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

...The result in Connecticut could not have been unexpected by any close observer of current politics. The Republican canvass seems to have been characterized chiefly by indifference and want of skill in conducting a campaign. The Democracy shrewdly concentrated themselves on the doubtful towns in order to secure the Legislature, the election of a United States Senator being in the balances. In this policy they were successful, gaining 22, and carrying all but eight of the doubtful towns and districts. The total vote this year was but 99,600, as against 100,966 in 1875, or 1,366 less. The Republican vote was 43,516, or 1,236 less than in '75; the total Democratic vote was 51,136, or 2,132 less than the year before. The green-back vote was 2,038; the prohibition 1,910—a total "parasite" vote of 3,948. The voting population of Connecticut cannot be less than 137,000 at the present time, adding the natural increase since 1870, when, according to the census, it was 127,499. On this estimate the recent vote was 37,400 less than the full vote of the State. One fact should be noticed, and that is that the Republican vote increased in all the large towns. A canvass half as active as that in New Hampshire would have given the Nutmeg State to the Republican candidates, and the grounds whereon that statement is based justify belief in a Republican victory there next November.

[It is proper at this point to correct a blunder accidentally made in a table contained in an article to be found elsewhere in this number of *THE REPUBLIC* on the New Hampshire election. The male adult population of Connecticut is set down, by a mistake in copying, at 265,270. It should be 150,415.—*Ed.*]

...The election in Rhode Island resulted in a large Republican majority to the Legislature, but no election of Governor by the people. The majority last year against the Republican nominee, General Lippitt, was 5,522. This year he has a considerable plurality, and will be chosen Governor by the Legislature, which is five-sixths Republican, and likely to return its present influential and accomplished Senator, H. B. Anthony, to the seat he so well fills. The vote stood,

Lippitt, 8,212; Howard, (temperance) 6,277; Beach, (Democrat) 3,472; a total vote of 17,961. The total vote for Secretary of State (only two candidates) was 18,334. The Legislature stands:

	Repub.	Dem.
Senate	27	9
House	63	9
Total	90	18

Republican majority on joint ballot, 72.

...From every quarter the municipal elections have been largely favorable to the Republicans. In 45 counties of New York the returns show a gain in supervisors of 186, and of 133 towns over similar elections in 1875. During April, the Republicans carried the municipal elections in Jersey City; Lockport, N. Y.; Cleveland, Dayton, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, the latter city for the first time. In Cincinnati "honors were easy," the Democrats electing a majority of the aldermen and board of works, the Republicans a majority of the common council and school board. About one-third more of the municipal elections in Ohio went Republican than usual; a number of Democratic towns were divided. Atchison and Topeka, Kansas, were carried by the Republicans, the former having usually been close or uncertain. At Denver, Colorado, the mayor elect is a Democrat, a majority of the aldermen being Republicans. In the Illinois elections the Republicans gain considerably, especially in the South and West. The Chicago city election was fiercely contested. It was crowned by a Republican triumph. In Michigan the result is the same, party lines being closely drawn. At Albany, New York, the result was a divided election. The election at St. Louis was non-political in character, and the nominees were nearly evenly divided. In nearly all the close or divided municipal contests it is a noteworthy fact that the school boards invariably remain in Republican hands.

STATE CONVENTIONS.

...The Republican State Convention of New York, meeting at Syracuse March 22d, attracted very general attention, owing not only to the high representative character of its membership, but also as to the earnest discussion over the question of a direct pre-

sentation of the name of Senator Conkling as the choice of the Empire State Republicans for President. Mr. G. W. Curtis led the opposition, and made a very brilliant and able speech. The Convention finally adopted a resolution presenting the name of Mr. Conkling to the Cincinnati Convention. The resolutions adopted reaffirmed Republican principles, charged the Democracy with reasserting and applauding the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion, with sending Union soldiers to the rear and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front, with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government, with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions, with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagement and obstruction of investigation, with proving itself utterly incompetent to administer the Government, and warned the country against trusting a party alike unworthy, recreant, and incapable. A resolution warmly commending the President was adopted.

...The Pennsylvania Democrats met at Lancaster on the 22d of March. A platform was adopted demanding general amnesty, and stating that the statute for the resumption of specie payment on the first day of January, 1879, is impossible, and ought to be forthwith repealed. The name of Jeremiah S. Black as a candidate for President was laid on the table. The delegation was not instructed.

...Gov. Hendricks was indorsed as a Presidential candidate by the Indiana Democratic Convention, and the following State ticket put in nomination: For Governor, James D. Williams; Lieutenant Governor, Isaac P. Grey; Judge of the Supreme Court—1st district, S. H. Buskirk; 2d district, A. G. Downey; 3d district, John Pettit; 4th district, James L. Worden; Secretary of State, John E. Neff; Auditor, E. Henderson; Treasurer, Benjamin C. Shaw; Attorney General, C. A. Buskirk; Superintendent of Public Instruction, J. H. Smart; Clerk of Supreme Court, Gabriel Schmuck; Reporter of Supreme Court, Augustus N. Martin. The platform favored the Holman money policy, and demanded the repeal of the resumption act.

...The Ohio Republicans have indorsed Governor Hayes as their choice for the Presidency, and placed the following nominations before the people: Secretary of State, Milton F. Barnes; Supreme Judge, W. W. Boynton; Member Board of Public Works, James C. Evans; Presidential Electors, Aaron E. Perry and E. H. Bohm.

The resolutions adopted sustain the Republican party, its national policy, and the Administration; demand that corruption be exposed and punished; the national credit be maintained; currency placed on a gold basis; favors a revenue tariff with incidental protection, and defends the free-school system. The second resolution reads, that the citizens of the several States of the Union are also citizens of the Nation, and are equal under the Constitution and laws in all rights of citizens, and are entitled to full and equal protection in their exercise. Among the delegates at large to Cincinnati are ex-Senator Wade and Gen. B. F. Noyes.

...The Eleventh Annual Labor Congress met at Pittsburg April 18th. One hundred and forty-five delegates were present. John M. Davis was elected President. The platform adopted urges the necessity of revoking the Burlingame treaty, characterizing its effects as little better than slave trade, and requests Congress, in order to give the co-operative scheme a fair trial, to select some branch of industry, such as that of miners and iron-workers, to which to apply such system, and appropriate therefor a loan, payable in twenty years, at a low rate of interest, not exceeding three per cent. It demands a strong protective tariff, and asks that duties be such as to protect home industry against foreign competition; declares in favor of the election of President of the United States by the popular vote of the people; demands the strict enforcement of the eight-hour law and of Congress of the enactment of stringent usury laws; heartily condemns the "store-order" system, as practiced by manufacturers, and also the prison contract system of labor; asks that Congress shall enact laws to give money due for labor precedence over all other claims; that Governments, both State and National, shall pass laws against all discriminations by common carriers, under penalty of forfeiture of charter; recommends a liberal system of internal improvement, and urges upon different State legislatures to pass such apprentice laws as will insure competent workmen in every branch of industry. After considerable discussion the convention declared against the organization of a third political party, but

appealed to all workingmen to unite so as to attain the advancement of the class through existing political parties. The power of calling future conventions was delegated to a committee appointed for that purpose, and after passing a vote of thanks to the officers the convention adjourned *sine die*.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS FOR MAY.

May 4.—Maryland Republican Convention, Frederick City.

May 10.—Michigan Republican Convention, Grand Rapids.

May 10.—Independent Reform Convention, Des Moines, Iowa.

May 16.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery.

May 17.—National Greenback Convention, Indianapolis, Indiana.

May 17.—National Prohibition Convention, Cleveland, Ohio.

May 17.—Tennessee Republican Convention, Knoxville.

May 18.—Delaware Republican Convention, Dover.

May 18.—Kentucky Republican Convention, Louisville.

May 23.—Nebraska Republican Convention, Fremont.

May 24.—Kansas Republican Convention, Topeka.

May 24.—California Democratic Convention, San Francisco.

May 24.—Alabama Republican Convention, Montgomery. (Minority call.)

May 24.—Illinois Republican Convention, Springfield.

May 31.—Missouri Democratic Convention, Jefferson City.

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATES.

...Political observers and workers will find the following of use:

States.	Electoral vote.	Delegation instructed for.	Candidate approved.
Maine.....	14	Blaine....	.....
Wisconsin..	20	.....	Blaine....
Indiana....	30	.....	Morton....
New York... 70	.....	.....	Conkling....
Pennsylv'a.. 54	.....	Hartranft..	.....
Ohio.....	44	Hayes.....	.....
Virginia.... 22	.....	Blaine....	.....
Mississippi.. 16	.....	.....	Unin-
Texas.....	16	.....	structed
Connecticut. 12	.....	.....	"
Vermont.... 10	.....	.....	"
S. Carolina.. 14	.....	.....	"
Rhode Island 8	.....	.....	"
Dist. of Col. 2	.....	.....	"
Wyoming Ty 2	.....	Bristow....	.....
Montana Ty. 2	.....	Blaine....	.....
Colorado Ty. 2	.....	.....	"

The above list includes all the conventions up to date, April 20th.

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT DOINGS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

CLERK AT THE EXECUTIVE MANSION.

Mr. C. L. Chapman, one of the most efficient clerks of the pay department of the army, has been detailed by the Secretary of War for service as executive clerk at the Executive Mansion. Mr. Chapman excels in penmanship, and possesses the ability of writing rapidly as well as beautifully. He will have abundant opportunities for the display of his powers in his new office.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

NATIONAL DEBT STATEMENT FOR MARCH.

The following is a recapitulation of the debt statement issued on April 1:

Debt bearing interest in coin:
 Bonds at 6 per cent. \$984,999,650 00
 Bonds at 5 per cent. 710,067,600 00
 \$1,695,067,250 00

Debt bearing interest in lawful money:
 Navy pension fund at 3 per cent. \$14,000,000 00

Debt on which interest has ceased since maturity. \$9,183,360 26

Debt bearing no interest:
 Old demand and legal-tender notes. \$370,823,645 50
 Certificates of deposit. 34,230,000 00
 Fractional currency. 42,604,893 71
 Coin certificates. 32,337,600 00
 \$479,996,139 21

Total debt. \$2,198,216,749 47

Interest. \$26,455,110 94

Total debt, principal and interest. \$2,224,671,860 41

Cash in Treasury:
 Coin. \$73,756,794 42
 Currency. 5,965,626 11
 Special deposit held for redemption of certificates of deposit as provided by law. 34,230,000 00
 \$113,952,420 53

Debt, less cash in the Treasury April 1, 1876. \$2,110,719,439 88

Debt, less cash in the Treasury March 1, 1876. 2,114,960,306 80

Decrease of debt during the past month. \$4,240,866 92

Decrease of debt since June 30, 1875. \$17,969,286 44

Bonds issued to the Pacific railway companies, interest payable in lawful money—Principal outstanding, \$64,623,512; interest accrued and not yet paid, \$969,352.68; interest paid by the United States, \$30,141,513.06; interest repaid by transportation of mails, &c., \$6,781,012.56; balance of interest paid by the United States, \$23,360,500.50.

U. S. CURRENCY IN CIRCULATION.

The following is an official statement of United States currency outstanding March 31, 1876:

Old demand notes. \$68,397 50
 Legal-tender notes:
 New issue. \$29,678,748 00
 Series 1869. 238,981,212 00
 Series 1874. 61,749,777 00
 Series 1875. 40,345,511 00
 370,755,248 00
 One-year notes, 1863. 62,695 00
 Two-year notes, 1863. 19,450 00
 Two-year coupon notes 1863. 26,000 00
 108,145 00
 Compound interest notes. 340,420 00
 340,420 00
 Fractional currency:
 First issue. 4,297,610 46
 Second issue. 3,119,189 09
 Third issue. 3,086,071 34
 First issue, first series. 4,788,490 24
 Fourth issue, second series. 1,218,034 05
 Fourth issue, third series. 2,860,062 75
 Fifth issue. 23,235,437 88
 42,604,893 71
 Total. \$413,877,104 21

COINAGE FOR MARCH.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold—		
Double eagles.	183,974	\$3,679,480
Half eagles.	4,000	20,000
	187,974	\$3,699,480
Silver—		
Trade dollars.	728,200	\$728,200
Half dollars.	78,200	39,100
Quarter dollars.	2,672,200	668,050
Twenty cents.	10,200	2,040
Dimes.	3,290,200	329,020
	6,779,000	\$1,766,410
Minor—		
Cents.	1,470,000	14,700

Recapitulation.

	Pieces.	Value.
Gold coinage.	187,974	\$3,699,480
Trade dollar.	728,200	728,200
Subsidiary silver.	6,050,800	1,038,210
Minor.	1,470,000	14,700
Total.	8,436,974	\$5,480,590

IMMIGRATION INTO NEW YORK.

Official returns made to the Bureau of Statistics show that during the month ended March 31, 1876, there arrived at the port of New York 4,881 immigrants, of whom

3,400 were males and 1,481 females. The total number of arrivals at the port during the quarter ended March 31, 1876, was 9,056, as compared with 12,449 during the corresponding period of 1875—being a decrease of 3,393. Of the total arrivals in March, 1876, there were from England, 1,068; Scotland, 209; Wales, 15; Ireland, 691; Germany, 1,732; Austria, 229; Sweden, 114; Norway, 6; Denmark, 59; Switzerland, 67; Spain, 8; Italy, 217; Holland, 70; Belgium, 13; Russia, 47; Poland, 27; Hungary, 84; China, 9; Canada, 6; Nova Scotia, 3; Mexico, 5; Venezuela, 4; Cuba, 5; Chili, Barbadoes, Curacao, and Asia, 2 each; Portugal, Finland, Turkey, Greece, West Indies, Antigua, Nassau, Bermuda, Persia, Australia, Africa and born at sea, 1 each.

REFUND OF DUTIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 18, 1876.
To Collectors of Customs and others:

The Department has been informed that there is a lack of uniformity at the various ports in the manner of refunding duties levied in excess on imported merchandise.

To render the practice uniform, it is hereby directed that, when duties have been once liquilated and paid, no refund of any portion of such duties, decided by this Department, *on appeal*, to have been exacted in excess of the amount imposed by law, shall be made, except on certified statement forwarded to the Department, for examination and settlement by the accounting officers, according to the usual course of procedure.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

ACCURATE STATISTICS OF EXPORTS REQUIRED.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1876.
To Collectors of Customs:

The attention of the Department has been called to the imperfection of the statistics of our exports, which is said to arise from erroneous manifests, shippers often clearing only approximate amounts of the goods on board, notwithstanding the penalty attached to such violations of law.

In order to put an end to such practices, and to obtain full and accurate statistics of the exports of domestic and other merchandise to foreign countries from your port, you are directed to require the masters and shippers of such goods to comply strictly with the Regulations of 1874, (Art. 964.) And in the case of those lines of

steamers sailing under special regulations with a view to avoid detention and to facilitate their business generally, you will see that correct manifests of the cargoes they take shall be lodged at the custom-house.

It is important that every effort should be made, under the law, to render our statistics of this trade as perfect as practicable, and it is your duty to assist in making them so. The Department, therefore, expresses the hope that you, and the other officers of the port, will exercise due vigilance and remove all cause of complaint in the future.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING THE ISSUE OF SILVER COIN OF THE UNITED STATES IN PLACE OF FRACTIONAL CURRENCY.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., April 18, 1876.

By virtue of the authority vested in the Secretary of the Treasury by the second section of an act entitled "An act to provide for a deficiency in the Printing and Engraving Bureau of the Treasury Department, and for the issue of silver coin of the United States in place of fractional currency," approved April 17, 1876, the several officers below named are hereby authorized, upon the presentation at their respective offices, for redemption, of the fractional currency of the United States, in sums of five dollars, or multiples thereof, assorted by denominations, and in amount not to exceed one hundred dollars, to issue therefor a like amount of the silver coin of the United States of the denominations of ten, twenty, twenty-five, and fifty cents; and furthermore, upon the presentation for redemption, at the office of the Treasurer of the United States in this city, of any amount of such currency, properly assorted, and in sums of not less than five dollars, the Treasurer is authorized to issue silver coin therefor to the amount of the currency presented, or he may issue his check therefor, payable in silver at either of the offices hereinafter named, at the option of the party presenting the currency, as far as may be practicable, from time to time.

Fractional currency redeemed in silver under these instructions by any of the assistant treasurers or designated depositaries of the United States will be sent in sums of one thousand dollars, or multiples thereof, to the Treasurer of the United States in this city, the amount to be charged in the Treasurer's general coin account as a transfer of funds, and any amount of such currency, for which silver has been paid, remaining at any time in the cash of the several offices will be treated as coin assets, and in no case will such fractional currency be reissued.

Fractional currency sent by express, or otherwise, to the officers below-named for

redemption in silver, under the provisions of this circular, should be accompanied by a letter of advice, stating fully the address of the sender, and how the remittance in payment therefor is desired, and, if by Treasurer's check, the office at which the check should be made payable.

The Government will not pay express charges on the silver issued, or the fractional currency presented for redemption under the provisions of this circular.

The officers herein referred to are as follows:

The Treasurer of the United States, Washington, D. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Boston, Mass.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New York City, N. Y.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Philadelphia, Pa.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, St. Louis, Mo.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Charleston, S. C.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, New Orleans, La.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Cincinnati, Ohio.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Chicago, Illinois.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, San Francisco, Cal.

The Assistant Treasurer of the United States, Baltimore, Md.

The United States Depository, Buffalo, N. Y.

The United States Depository, Pittsburg, Pa.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

COLLECTION OF TEN PER CENT. ADDITIONAL DUTIES.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 25, 1876.

To Collectors of Customs and others:

The following instructions are issued for the information and guidance of customs officers:

1. Upon the expiration of one year from the date of importation of merchandise remaining in warehouse under bond, the collector and naval officer, if there be one, will cause a memorandum to be made in red ink upon the debit side of the bond account in the warehouse ledger, showing the amount of additional duties which would accrue upon the withdrawal of such merchandise for consumption.

2. In case of the withdrawal of such merchandise, or any portion thereof, for transportation to another port, a memorandum of the ten per cent. additional duties will be made upon the transportation entry sent to the collector of the port of destination, such

memorandum to be entered upon his warehouse ledger in the manner above prescribed.

3. When merchandise has remained in warehouse beyond three years, and is sold pursuant to the provisions of Section 2972 of the Revised Statutes the ten per cent. additional duties will be added to and included in the duties, charges, and expenses required to be deducted from proceeds of sale before payment thereof to the owner, consignee, or agent of such merchandise, the Department having heretofore decided that the sale of such merchandise at public auction after three years is equivalent to a withdrawal thereof for consumption after one year, and, hence, that the additional duty necessarily accrues, and must be deducted from the proceeds as provided in Article 764, General Regulations.

B. H. BRISTOW, *Secretary*.

ATTORNEYS.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 11, 1876.

In order to secure uniformity of practice throughout the several offices and bureaus connected with this Department, hereafter no person will be prohibited from practicing as an attorney before any such office or bureau, except upon the order of the Secretary.

CHAS. F. CONANT,
Acting Secretary.

KEEPERS AND CREWS OF LIFE-SAVING STATIONS.

In view of the recent disaster near life-saving station No. 4, district No. 6, North Carolina, at the wreck of the Italian bark *Nuova Ottavia*, off Currituck beach, in which the keeper and his crew of five of the surfmen belonging to the station, and one volunteer from the party engaged in constructing the lighthouse at Whale's Back, in addition to nine of the crew of the *Nuova Ottavia* were drowned, the Treasury Department calls the attention of keepers and surfmen to the importance of always wearing, when using the boats, the cork life-belts furnished for them. While commending the brave and eager spirit of the crews, the Secretary enjoins prudence in availing themselves of all the means provided for success in their perilous service, and says: "Keepers are strictly charged to see that every member of their respective crews is properly equipped with his life-belt before taking his place in the boat on occasion, and they will be held responsible for any infraction of this order."

WAR DEPARTMENT.**ARMY HEADQUARTERS.**

The order issued from the War Department transferring army headquarters from St. Louis to Washington has been amended so as to direct the Adjutant General and Inspector General to report to the General of the Army. The following is the order, as amended :

WAR DEPARTMENT,

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 6, 1876.

The Adjutant General will promulgate the following order for the information and guidance of all concerned :

The headquarters of the army is hereby re-established at Washington city, and all orders and instructions relative to military operations or affecting the military control and discipline of the army held by the President through the Secretary of War shall be promulgated through the General of the army, and the departments of the Adjutant General and the Inspector General shall report to him and be made under his control in all things relating thereto.

ALPHONSO TAFT, *Secretary of War.*

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.**GREAT INCREASE OF BUSINESS IN THE PATENT OFFICE.**

The receipts at the Patent Office for January, February, and March of the present year were, respectively, \$72,070.40, \$74,651.62, and \$80,459.07, making an aggregate of \$227,181.09. This is, by far, the largest amount of money received in any one quarter since the office was established, and the earnings of each of the three months are larger than those of any of its predecessors. The greatest number of patents ever issued in any one week was 482 for the week ending Tuesday, February 22, 1876. The balance standing to the credit of the patent fund on the books of the Treasury Department January 1, 1876, was \$886,909.62, and must, at the present time, be not short of \$900,000.

To show the astonishing increase of the business of the Patent Office, it is only necessary to make a few comparisons. The whole number of patents issued in the year 1840 was 473, being nine less than the issue of the week in February above referred to. The entire receipts for the year 1849 were \$80,752.98, being only about \$300 more than the amount received during the past month.

In view of the foregoing facts and figures, which have been obtained from official

sources, will not Congress be liable to cripple the capabilities of the only profitable bureau of the Government, and of throwing obstacles in the way of the inventive minds of the country if it gives its approval to the reductions in the Patent Office contemplated by the appropriation bill now under consideration in the House of Representatives?

THE NEW PENSION COMMISSIONER.

Hon. John A. Bentley, the newly-appointed Commissioner of Pensions, assumed his duties on April 1st. Mr. Bentley is one of the foremost lawyers of Wisconsin, was formerly attorney for the Sheboygan railroad, served four terms in the State Senate, and has held many other prominent and responsible positions. Those who have the pleasure of his acquaintance say that a better selection could hardly have been made.

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.**FEES, ETC., OF THE MONEY-ORDER OFFICES NOT REVENUE OF THE UNITED STATES.**

In the case of the United States against Norton the Supreme Court of the United States held that the money-order act being expressly intended for the convenience of the public, and for the better security of money sent through the mail, and directing that all moneys transferred in the administration of the act should be regarded as money in the Treasury, fees, etc., received in such offices were not revenues within the meaning of the act of 1804; and that therefore Norton, who was indicted for embezzlement of such moneys in the New York office, could not be tried under that act, which prescribed a limitation of five years; and that, as the indictment was not within two years from the date of the offense, it could not be tried under the act of 1790; so Norton goes free. Mr. Justice Swaine delivered the opinion.

THE RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN IN THE UNITED STATES.

In the case of Kohl and others against the United States it was held that the Government of the United States is vested with the right of eminent domain by the Constitution, so far as is necessary to enable it to acquire real estate within the States for purposes of forts, arsenals, armories, post offices, etc., and that a citizen or a State cannot be permitted by any act to prevent the exercise of this power.